

ARE CONSERVATIVES NUTS? • ARISE, YE DRONES OF ART

In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

October 13, 2003



Migrant Rights

Mexican workers brave
the border crossing

By R.M. Arrieta

Immigrants and unions
get on the same bus

By David Moberg

Day laborers fight for a
corner of their own

By Brian O'Grady

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Editorial

A Costly Preemption

The folly of the war in Iraq becomes more and more apparent as the bill for this misadventure is tabulated.

The economic cost continues to mount. On September 7, President George W. Bush asked Congress to allocate \$87 billion dollars in emergency funding to pay for the military occupation and reconstruction of Iraq. "We will spend what is necessary, to achieve this essential victory in the war on terror, to promote freedom, and to make our own nation more secure," he said. Yet few in the media discuss the opportunity costs that such a request entails—Bush wants to spend \$34 billion more on Iraq than the \$53 billion he proposed for education in his 2004 budget.

The human cost is equally uncertain. The American death toll stands at 288 (150 of whom have been killed since the war was declared "over") and is growing. Iraqi dead remain uncounted.

The political cost to the world of the "war on terror" includes a more volatile Middle East, an escalation of what many Muslims perceive as a war against Islam, and the alienation of the United States from its traditional allies.

Most significantly, perhaps, the war has cost the United Nations its leadership role in resolving the world's conflicts and allowed the United States to step in as the world's armed intervener.

Against its wishes, on August 19, the United Nations was dragged into the war on terror when a bomb exploded at its Baghdad headquarters, killing 23.

Questions have now been raised about whether the United States knew that such an attack was in the offing but did nothing to warn the United Nations. After the bombing, Ahmad Chalabi, the White House's man in Baghdad and leader of the Iraqi National Congress, said that he received an intelligence report on August 14 that "a large-scale act would take place ... against a soft target such as Iraqi political parties or other parties, including the U.N." Chalabi is not known as a reliable source (despite the fact that he was the *New York Times*' prime source of information about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction), but if his claim is true, it means that the United States knew about an impending attack and did nothing to prevent it. And what's more, failed to notify the United Nations that it was a target. A spokesman for Kofi Annan

said, "To my knowledge, that information was not relayed to the United Nations."

The domestic cost includes an ever-growing government encroachment on civil liberties. As Kristie Reilly reports on page 20, safeguards against government surveillance of dissenting Americans are falling by the wayside. Indeed, Bush milked the anxiety created by the anniversary of 9/11 (televised on two-year replay) to call for exempting federal law enforcement agencies from judicial oversight in subpoenaing private records. He says this is needed to better battle "the servants of evil." Charlie Mitchell, an ACLU legislative council, doesn't buy it: "Politically and legally, further erosions of judicial oversight and the basic checks and balances that protect us and our democracy from political abuses of power are the wrong path to take."

And let's not forget the cost of the war on terror borne by those who work in American news rooms. Too many in the media are content to fawn over the powers that be. When was the last time you heard a journalist interview National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice and challenge her numerous "misstatements of fact"—the term Reagan administration spin doctors coined for administration lies?

You can bet there are additional costs, yet

Bush allocated \$34 billion more to occupy Iraq than for education in his 2004 budget.

unknown. What adventure will the Bush administration, in the upcoming election year, embark on to divert public attention from a debacle in Iraq that shows no sign of ending? An invasion of North Korea? A preemptive strike against Iran? The war in Iraq set the precedent, having provided a crucial distraction during the 2002 mid-term elections.

—Joel Bleifuss

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In These Times

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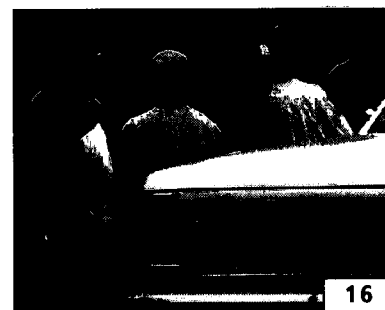
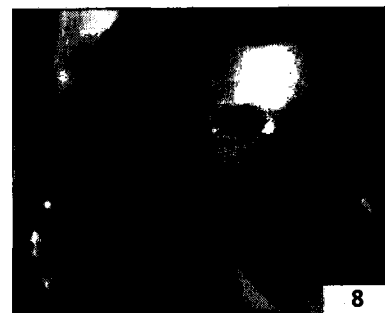
By Eleanor J. Bader

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30 Arsenals of Democracy

By Paul Shambroom

PHOTO: *Meetings and Nuclear Weapons*.



Truth and Consequences

I have recently read the article by Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber ("How To Sell a War," September 1) with a bit of ire. The allusions to PSYOPs imply that Military Psychological Operations use deceit and deception in their practice. Nothing could be further from the truth. Truth is always the basis of Psychological Warfare products and messages. Military deception falls under the area of Operational Security.

I have both attended and taught Army and Air Force PSYOP courses. I am amazed at the techniques used by our civilian counterparts. We are constrained by law and regulations requiring truth as a basis for our work, and cannot conduct operations against U.S. citizens. Please do not allow those who are not constrained by these same rules discredit the fine men and women who serve in the field of PSYOP in uniform. It is the media and material produced by these civilian agencies that has caused us to lose credibility in every administration in which I have served the past 23 years, and it is one of the reasons that the perception of the United States by the international community has been poor.

Lt. Col. Mark W. McLaughlin
Special Forces, U.S. Army Reserve
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Ain't She a Woman

Silja J.A. Talvi's article "Women on the Edge" (September 15) contains an extraordinarily revealing bit of text, and one that I was appalled to read. In speaking of feminism and an alleged series of "waves" it has exhibited during the last 150 years or so, the author writes: "While Sojourner Truth's outrage at the exclusivity of the suffrage movement, her famous 'Ain't I a Woman' speech from 1851, still resonates for many women of color, the movement continues to evolve, a dynamic collective effort toward the complete political, social, and economic equality of all women in society."

Talvi is wrong about the context and purpose of Truth's speech, which implies that she must be very ignorant of the history of the movement she is writing about. Sojourner Truth was not fighting a battle for black womanhood vs. white middle class women in 1851; she was responding to some anti-feminist arguments expressed by white male members of an audience at one of the very early women's rights conventions. It is true that white women at the meeting expressed apprehension when she walked in, and some wanted to deny her

the right to speak. But the chair welcomed her when she approached the podium, and her speech was greeted with grateful applause. Thereafter Truth was a regular and welcome participant in the movement events, and a speaker at many of its conventions.

A few minutes of additional research would also show that the women's movement of the time—disparaged by Talvi as being "centered completely around the educational, employment, property, and voting rights of Euro-American middle-class women in the 19th and early 20th centuries"—appealed to many on the lowest rungs of society, such as industrial workers in textile factories and poor farm women. It appealed very strongly to Sojourner Truth. And 19th century feminists also spent a lot of time on women's health, sexual relationships, political theory, and a number of other very modern-sounding issues, as anyone who has studied the writings of the early feminists should know.

Is Talvi rewriting history for a reason?

Dian R. Deevey
Gainesville, Florida

Silja J.A. Talvi responds: Ms. Deevey's letter highlights the debate that has long existed within more mainstream, second-wave feminist circles about how much or how little middle-class European-American suffragists cared about the plight of women of color and working women. Many notable feminist scholars, including Angela Y. Davis, have long since established that an honest look at women's history reveals that many move-

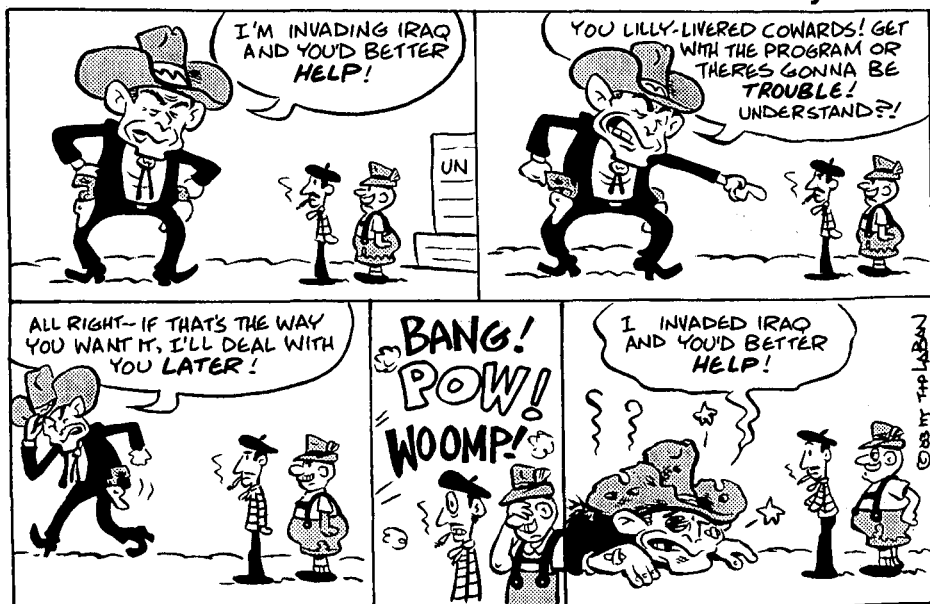
ment leaders ranging from Susan B. Anthony to Margaret Sanger exhibited racist and classist viewpoints, despite their essential and invaluable contributions to women's rights in the United States.

A survey of the first-wave feminist movement—and the equally significant but independently developed early 20th century movement of anarchist and socialist working-class women—simply wasn't the point of my article. Although Ms. Deevey makes it her focus, my point was simply to establish an historical continuum into which these newer developments in women's identity could be placed. That said, it is absolutely true that Sojourner Truth was primarily addressing male supremacists in the audience in her "Ain't I a Woman" speech. Truth successfully quieted the men's shouting and eventually earned the applause of the women in attendance. But there is a deeper story in the attempts on the part of many of her white "sisters" who hissed and tried to keep her from speaking, and this is the aspect to which my one sentence referred.

Truth's speech was powerful and was indeed directed toward women who tried to silence her as well as to the men who felt so threatened by her suffrage.

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Terry LaBan



End of the Road

U.S. map leads nowhere

by Charmaine Seitz

Palestinians and others who had watched the growing power struggle between Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas and senior Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat greeted the announcement of Abbas' resignation with measured relief.

"Either we have reconciliation or we have another government, but to have a continuation of the crisis—this is shameful," said Palestinian Legislative Council member Hatem Abdel Qader in the midst of the fracas.

But the resolution of that short-term problem through the subsequent appointment of Ahmad Qurei, architect of the 1993 peace accords with Israel, has only brought both Palestinians and Israelis full circle again to face the faltering of their respective national dreams. With or without the roadmap—the U.S.-backed plan to return to talks—some are saying that the two-state solution has failed.

The current Israeli leadership, writes Israeli analyst Yossi Alpher in the web journal *Bitterlemons.org*, believes it can force Palestinians to accept a "handful of disconnected enclaves that take up about 50 percent of the West Bank and are surrounded by settlements." Alpher calls this plan a non-starter for both Palestinians and Israelis seeking a secure home. "In order for Israel to continue as a state, it must depend on Palestine as a viable democratic neighbor," says Palestinian activist Hanan Ashrawi. "It cannot swallow up Palestine."

Abbas was appointed prime minister in April after the international community demanded that he take the reins from Arafat. He came to office bearing a plan supported by the political center to stop attacks against Israel by obtaining a unilateral truce from the Palestinian opposition groups (indeed, he was a true believer that Palestinians must change their tactics). But for all of Israel's rejection of Arafat, it did little to show support for Abbas' leadership and made only minor gestures of compromise. Nor did the United States press Israel to declare an end to violence "against Palestinians

everywhere," or halt settlement construction, both required by the roadmap plan.

The Bush administration did, however, demand that Palestinians forcefully disarm opposition groups and then, when Abbas began bleeding political support, hurried his demise by backing him emphatically. (One of Arafat's parting barbs was reportedly to call Abbas "Karzai," after the U.S.-installed leader of Afghanistan.) Two weeks ago, when Abbas called for a vote of confidence in the Palestinian legislature to



Mahmoud Abbas resigned on September 6.

reaffirm his policies, the United States consul in Jerusalem called key figures in the Legislative Council to warn them that a vote against Abbas would be a vote against the United States itself.

"I told them that their interference was backfiring on them," said one of those on the target call list.

The handing of the premiership to Qurei, known as Abu Ala, thus solved the internal Palestinian struggle without an embarrassing vote against Abbas. It has done nothing, however, to alleviate the problems that took him from office: Israel's refusal to make substantive efforts, the failure of U.S. policy, and fractured Palestinian politics—all which doomed the roadmap plan. "Maybe Abu Ala can do something," shrugs Abdel Qader now. "Otherwise, he is chasing [down] a closed road." His attitude tells of the uncertainty with which Palestinians are viewing the next step.

"The Sharon government has been trying to put an end to the Palestinian national movement in the form of the [Palestinian] Authority, which has been more or less paralyzed completely by the complete occupation of the West Bank," says sociologist and political scientist Jamil Hilal. As recent events show, the exercise of Palestinian leadership means little when Israeli troops are confiscating more land, preventing travel between towns, taking security control of areas where Palestinian police work and arresting the Palestinian grassroots.

Now that the Palestinian Authority has been rendered useless, says Hilal, Israel is systematically removing the Authority's militant opposition. In late August and early September, Israel targeted and killed at least eleven Hamas figures. Two major attempts on the lives of Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin and Mahmoud Zahhar failed, but killed three family members and associates and injured 50 Palestinian civilians. In retaliation, Hamas has killed 15 Israelis in two suicide bombings.

But Israel is running out of targets. Despite the cordon of checkpoints preventing Palestinians from moving out of their towns, despite the nearly 600-kilometer barrier that is being constructed to keep Palestinians in their population centers and out of Israel, attacks on Israelis continue. The Israeli cabinet debates frequently the merits of removing or killing Arafat himself, but the prospect is fraught with dangers.

"I think the Israelis are also in crisis," says Palestinian Minister of Labor Ghasan Khatib. "They can't not do anything, but they have run out of options."

The stalemate reveals two nations in deep and opposing ideological emergencies. "There is a real chance that ours will be the last Zionist generation," former Knesset speaker Avraham Burg recently wrote in *Forward* magazine. "There may yet be a Jewish state in the Middle East, but it will be a different sort, strange and ugly." Burg's bitter article—published first in Hebrew—laid down what he sees as Israel's choices today: get out of the occupied territories for good, or become the minority guardians of an apartheid state. Caught between a paralyzed leadership and a muddled national strategy, Palestinians face equally bitter choices. ■

Eco-Harassment

Criminalizing activists

By A.L. Loy

Environmental activists and conservation groups are confronting a variety of state-level attempts to criminalize dissent aimed at corporate and commercial targets.

In Pennsylvania, Republican state senator Joe Scarnati has introduced SB589, which defines a new crime: "environmental harassment" or "communicating" a threat to commit or cause a violent crime dangerous to human life, property, or business practice. If passed, the bill would create a new misdemeanor and fines for actions leading to "loss of business." Protest signs or slogans could be included under this rubric of threatening communication.

Activists convicted under the law might also have to pay restitution for resulting damages and loss of profit.

Legislators in New York and Texas, exploiting public fears of terrorist activity,

have introduced bills that criminalize environmental activists as "eco-terrorists" and target their support networks.

In New York, animal rights organizations such as PETA face a bill that would increase penalties for trespassing that occurs while documenting animal abuse on private property. In Texas, House Bill 433 was introduced in March by Republican state representative Ray Allen. Allen is a member of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a Washington-based association of 200-plus conservative state lawmakers and hundreds of business leaders committed to elevating states rights, property rights, and free enterprise above environmental protection.

Allen's bill was based on model legislation promoted last December by ALEC's Criminal Justice Task Force, which he chairs. The proposed bill defines "animal rights" or "ecological terrorist" organiza-

tions as "two or more persons organized for the purpose of supporting any politically motivated activity intended to obstruct or deter any person from participating in an activity involving animals or an activity involving natural resources." Under the terms of the legislation, envi-

ronmentalists using blockade and tree-sitting tactics to protect forests, or anti-fur activists blocking the doors of Neiman Marcus would be designated "eco-terrorists."

Though the Texas bill died in committee when the legislative session ran out in conjunction with Texas Democrats fleeing to Oklahoma to protest Republicans' redistricting plan, it

would have increased fines and jail time for activities "with an intent to influence a government entity or the public to take a specific political action." Likely to return in a future session, the bill calls for publicizing on a Web site the names of any person convicted under the legislation.

Julian Zelazny of the State Environmental Resource Center (SERC), an environmental policy think-tank based in Madison, Wisconsin, finds the Texas bill troubling. "We read it as any two or more people that have an opinion on state or federal environmental policy and act to change it could be labeled as 'terrorist,'" says Zelazny. "If their concern is about violent direct action such as arson or tree spiking, states already have laws. Why the need for more legislation?"

Activists particularly fear the section of these laws that cover "aiding and abetting." The Texas bill would have made it a crime for people who "knowingly provide financial support, resources, or other assistance" to individuals or groups that fall under the "eco-terrorism" definition. If ALEC has its way, groups and individuals who do so could face criminal charges, fines, or even seizure of assets.

SERC's Zelazny says such bills play on public fears by tapping into "anger, outrage and patriotism to silence critics and infringe on protected free speech." Though most such bills have either stalled or died in state legislatures, Pennsylvania is on the watch list for civil disobedience activists. ■



Julia Butterfly Hill:
Terrorist, or activist?

THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW

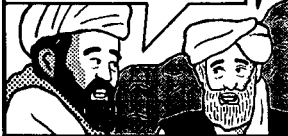
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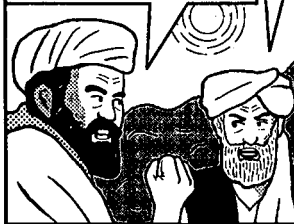
HOW CAN WE EVEN HOPE TO PREVAIL AGAINST A MAN OF SUCH STEELY RESOLVE?



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Republican

☐ A. TERRORIST DUPE
Democrat



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Who They Know

Boeing's ties bloat government budgets

By Frida Berrigan

Boeing is not only one of the largest weapons manufacturers in the world, it is also a master of the fine art of quid pro quo. When the going gets tough, this Chicago-based giant gets tougher by calling in its favors and relying on friends in Washington. Just the latest instance of this can be seen in a unique leasing deal Boeing negotiated with the Air Force and almost squeezed through Congress.

Under the terms of the agreement—which has gotten long-overdue public scrutiny thanks to Senator John McCain

(R-Arizona) and his Commerce Committee—the Air Force would lease 100 Boeing 767 air-refueling aircraft for more than \$20 billion. As *In These Times* was going to press, the Pentagon was deciding whether or not to approve a smaller lease of planes instead.

Rudy DeLeon, senior vice president for Boeing, insists that the original deal would be “good for the Air Force and good for Boeing.” DeLeon is in a position to know—he came to Boeing from the Pentagon, where he served as Deputy Secretary of Defense from March 2000 until March 2001. But does he know what is good for taxpayers who would foot the bill?

The numbers say no. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the original lease plan would cost \$21.5 billion, while purchasing the aircraft outright would cost \$15.9 billion. That means Boeing could pocket almost \$6 billion in cool profit. Air

Force Secretary James Roche disputes those figures, saying the plan would only cost an extra \$150 million.

Regardless of which figure ends up being right, there is no question that the deal would be a huge bonus for Boeing, because it seems clear that the Air Force has no pressing need for the refueling tankers. Just two years ago the Air Force said their tanker fleet would be serviceable through 2040. With wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the planes are getting more work than anticipated two years ago, but that does not explain the huge leap from 2040 to ASAP.

McCain calls the deal an instance of “living for today and plundering resources for tomorrow” and has made it his business to squash it. At the beginning of September, he held hearings on the lease plan and released thousands of documents that show a disconcerting level of collabora-

APPALL-O-METER

Giving Till It Hurts **1.2**

“As long as I have this property it will be a refuge for homeless people, the drug addicted, disadvantaged, and underprivileged,” says Anthony Tocco, 35, referring to the eighth of an acre he owns amid the Shadow Lakes Condominiums in Largo, Florida. According to the *St. Petersburg Times*, this caring man's deeds seem to conform to his words. In late August he cruised the area's homeless hangouts and invited a handful of the less fortunate back to his patch of land for beer and pizza.

“He seemed like a pretty good dude,” one homeless guest said of Tocco. “It's a nice place to hang out.”

Tocco's neighbors feel a little bitter about his kindness. His land is a 20-by-300-foot strip that runs along their backyards, which Tocco bought for \$715 when the condo association failed to pay taxes on it, and which the young benefactor of the poor seeks to sell back to the condo owners for \$40,000. So far, the residents are

balking. According to his attorney, Tocco is considering other generous uses of his property, such as erecting a cell phone tower or building a storage facility.

Levers of Power **2.2**

Walden O'Dell wants to sell voting machines to counties across Ohio that are upgrading their equipment for the 2004 election. He also really, really wants to help George Bush get reelected. Or, as he put it in a fundraising letter recently, he is “committed to helping Ohio deliver its electoral votes to the president next year.” It's a funny bit of candor, considering how important certain (no doubt fair and balanced) contractors were in delivering electoral votes to Dubya in the last election.

According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, O'Dell attended a conclave of big-time contributors at Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas, and has sent out invitations to a \$1,000-a-plate shindig at his own spread outside

Columbus to help with the Ohio GOP's federal campaign fund. Meanwhile, O'Dell's company, Diesel Inc., awaits the OK of a state court of appeals judge before it starts selling its machines, one of three companies certified to do so.

Gruel and Unusual Food **5.0**

Trouble has been brewing in the Cumberland County Jail, near Portland, Maine, ever since somebody took a dump in the grub. According to the *Portland Press Herald*, supper was being carted to the cellblocks one evening in August when inmates started complaining that the chili smelled like shit. It was quickly determined that the chili was in fact tainted with fecal matter. A number

of inmates became sick, none seriously.

Nineteen low-security inmates, trustees, who help prepare the food, were questioned, and prison officials took DNA swabs and vowed to match them with samples of the chili. Two prisoners attacked one of the trustees a few days later, and many in the population have made it clear that they want to take justice into their own hands. “They told me that if I don't figure it out, they'll take care of it,” said Sheriff Mark Dion. “Their evidentiary standard is a lot lower than ours.”



TERRY LABAN

tion between Boeing executives and top Air Force officials. The 8,000 pages reveal negotiators on both sides problem-solving, brainstorming, and lining up formidable political support for the deal.

"In all my years in Congress," McCain complains, "I have never seen the security and fiduciary responsibilities of the federal government quite so nakedly subordinated to the interests of one defense manufacturer."

While the documents provide a disturbing insight into how billion-dollar deals are built, they also bring to light a revolving door scandal. Darleen Druyun, the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Acquisitions and Management, was a key negotiator for the Air Force. McCain's documents show her sharing potentially proprietary information about a rival company's bid for the tanker contract with Boeing.

The Pentagon's Inspector General has launched a formal investigation to determine if Druyun broke the law to help Boeing. No matter what it concludes, Boeing clearly appreciated Druyun's insights and hard work. After retiring from the Air Force, she joined Boeing as Deputy Gen-

eral Manager for Missile Defense Systems in January 2003.

Boeing also has friends in Congress whose hard work they appreciate. As the White House and Pentagon prepared to launch a war against Afghanistan in fall 2001, Representative Norman Dicks (D-Washington) wrote to President Bush explaining how the terrorist attacks had affected Boeing.

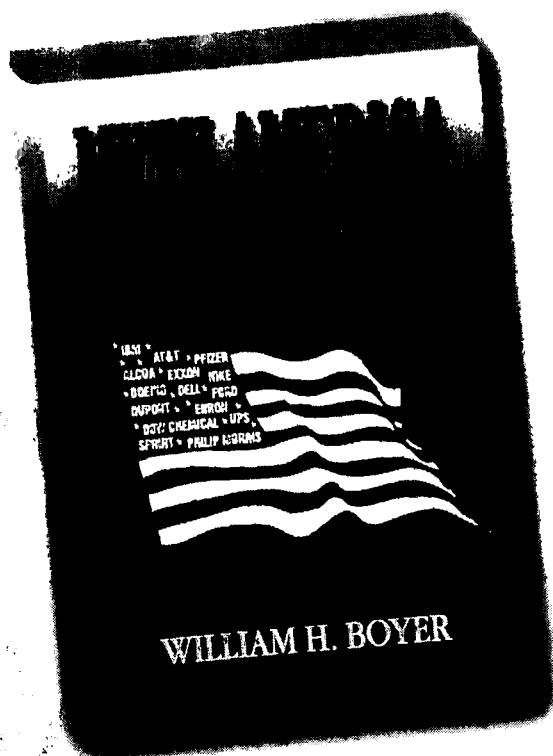
As a solution, Dicks described the "unique opportunity" Congress had to help Boeing and the Air Force at the same time, and asked Bush to add \$2.5 billion for Boeing to his economic stimulus package. What Dicks did not mention was that as the representative of Boeing's district in Washington state he has received almost \$54,000 from the company in the last four election cycles and has a vested interest in the company thriving again.

Ted Stevens, Senior Republican on the Appropriations Committee, also worked hard for the deal. Why did the Alaskan senator care? It is not too hard to draw some conclusions. *Defense Week* reports that just a month before shepherding the legislation through Congress, Stevens held a fundraiser where Boeing executives handed

over \$22,000 in checks. The company was Stevens' top contributor, adding \$34,400 to his 2001 reelection campaign. All but one of the executives who cut \$1,000 checks were giving to the Senator for the first time, underlining his importance to the company. The timing and size of the donations makes it hard to accept claims from his office that there is "no connection between campaign contributions made to Senator Stevens and his legislative activities." As Eric Miller, Senior Defense Investigator with Project on Government Oversight, notes, "you would have to be paid off to vote for such a bad idea."

And this is just the tip of the iceberg. Boeing, like other major weapons manufacturers, has stacked its deck with Washington insiders. John Shalikashvili, retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is on the Boeing board. Former Ambassador Thomas Pickering is Boeing's Senior Vice President for International Relations.

How can Boeing, the Air Force, and Members of Congress claim that this multibillion-dollar boondoggle is good for anyone but themselves? McCain is on the money when he calls Boeing's bailout a "military industrial rip-off." ■



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THE FIRST STONE

Conservatives deconstructed

By Joel Bleifuss

Are they nuts?

Have you ever wondered about those ubiquitous conservatives?

Why do they support tax breaks for the rich when so many of their fellow citizens are in dire straits? Why do they applaud John Ashcroft and his post-9/11 curtailment of civil liberties? Why do they oppose laws that address historic wrongs and enforce constitutionally guaranteed rights? Why do they respond to a societal drug problem with incarceration and expanded prison construction? Why do they gut regulations that are meant to protect the environment? Why do they invest more than half of our tax dollars in the military? Why are they so mean-spirited? In other words, why do conservatives do what they do? Are they nuts?

No, not according to a fascinating new study in *Psychological Bulletin*, "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition." Conservatives do, however, possess certain psychological traits and motives that no one in their right (or is that left?) mind would want to share.

The study's four authors, John T. Jost, Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway, write, "People embrace political conservatism (at least in part) because it serves to reduce fear, anxiety and uncertainty; to avoid change, disruption and ambiguity; and to explain, order and justify inequality among groups and individuals." To come to this conclusion the authors examined 88 different psychological studies conducted between 1958 and 2002 that involved 22,818 people from 12 different countries. They boiled that information down into a number of psychological attributes that are closely associated with people who are politically conservative.

Rigid and closed-minded

"Dogmatism has been found to correlate consistently with authoritarianism, political-economic conservatism, and the holding of right wing opinions," write the authors. Conversely, studies have found that conservatives in general have little tolerance for ambiguity. A fact that helps in decoding this statement that George W. Bush made in Geneva, Italy: "I know what I believe and I believe what I believe is right."

Such thinking could explain why the Bush administration officials ignored those intelligence reports that failed to support going to war with Iraq. "[Conservatives'] intolerance of ambiguity can lead people to cling to the familiar, to arrive at premature conclusions, and to impose simplistic clichés and stereotypes," write the authors.

Numerous studies have also shown that conservative policy makers entertain less cognitively complex thoughts than their liberal or moderate counterparts. A study of speeches made in the House of Commons in 1984 found that "the most integratively complex politicians were moderate socialists." Their complexity of thought was found to be significantly higher than that of extreme socialists, moderate conservatives or extreme conservatives. Similarly, in the United States, a study of speeches on the floor of the Senate in 1975 and 1976 found that senators with liberal or moderate voting records exhibited significantly more complex thinking than their conservative counterparts.

That explains a lot, doesn't it. Bush again comes to mind. As he told a British reporter, "Look, my job isn't to try to nuance. My job is to tell people what I think."

Further studies show that conservatives have been found to shun new, stimulating experiences and to avoid situations where the outcome is uncertain.



A typical conservative.

The authors write that the fact that conservatives are "less tolerant of ambiguity, less open to new experiences, and more avoidant of uncertainty" may help explain why "congressional Republicans and other prominent conservatives in the United States have sought unilaterally to eliminate public funding for the contemporary arts."

From an early age, conservatives demonstrate a personal need for order and structure. One study has shown that conservative teens are more likely to say they are "neat, orderly and organized" than are liberal adolescents. The authors note that this desire for set rules correlates with the examples of mental rigidity mentioned above, and can be seen in the political realm when conservatives attempt to order their own and other's lives by advocating drug testing, core educational curriculum, controls on people with AIDS, and strict parental control of children.

Impulsively aggressive

R.A. Altemeyer, a psychologist who has extensively studied people with right-wing beliefs, has observed:

[Right-wing authoritarians] see the world as a dangerous place, as society teeters on the brink of self-destruction from evil and violence. This fear appears to instigate aggression in them. Second, right-wing authoritarians tend to be highly self-righteous. They think themselves much more moral and upstanding than others—a self perception considerably aided by self-deception. ... This self-righteousness disinhibits their aggressive impulses and releases them to act out their fear-induced hostilities.

George Will seems steeped in that fear. To illustrate that point the authors quote this passage from an essay by Will: "Conservatives know the world is a dark and forbidding place where most new knowledge is false, most improvements are for the worse." Psychological studies back Will up. People with right-wing personalities hold more pessimistic views and left-wing personalities hold more optimistic ones. And that pessimism and optimism appears to inform how conservatives and liberals view their fellow humans. A 1984 survey of "emotional reactions to welfare recipients" found that conservatives "expressed greater disgust and less sympathy" than liberals.

While this propensity of conservatives to be threatened and fearful does not appear to induce neurotic behavior, one study of dream lives discovered that Republicans had three times as many nightmares as Democrats, indicating that fear, anger and aggression might be a factor in the subconscious motivations of conservatives.

The authors speculate that this susceptibility to fear "may help explain why military defense spending and support for national security receive much stronger backing from conservative than liberal political leaders."

Afraid of loss

It has long been known that conservatives resist change while progressives accept change. Indeed, according to studies, this is the most common way that people from both groups self-define themselves.

"To the extent that conservatives are

especially sensitive to the possibilities of loss—one reason why they wish to preserve the status quo—it follows that they should be generally more motivated by negatively framed outcomes (potential losses) than by positively framed outcomes (potential gains)."

Consequently, conservatives respond better to threats. In a study conducted five days before the 1996 presidential election, researchers presented voters with persuasive arguments that stressed either the potential rewards of voting ("it is a way to express and live in accordance with important values") or the potential losses from not voting ("not voting allows others to take away your right to express your values"). More generally, the authors suggest that "framing events in terms of potential losses rather than gains leads people to adopt cognitively conservative, as opposed to innovative, orientations."

Haunted by death

Of course, the greatest personal loss is death. Studies demonstrate that the people who most fear death are the most conservative. More generally, the fear of death and the resulting protective posture that such a threat engenders cause people to become conservative and to strongly "defend culturally valued norms and practices" and "to distance themselves from, and even to derogate, out-group members to greater extent." Similarly, the fear of death has also been linked to "system-justifying forms of stereotyping and enhanced liking for stereotype-consistent women and minority group members" and "greater punitiveness, and even aggression, toward those who violate cultural values." Applying that knowledge, the authors write, "High profile terrorist attacks such as those of September 11, 2001, might simultaneously increase the cognitive accessibility of death and the appeal of political conservatism."

While trying to retain the impartiality of scientists, albeit social ones, the authors warn that the available evidence indicates that governments can manipulate people's conservative tendencies by raising the specter of death. They write, "Priming thoughts of death

has been shown to increase intolerance, out-group derogation, punitive aggression, veneration of authority figures and system justification."

That is what we have seen in the wake of 9/11 as public opinion and media coverage took a sharp turn to the right, setting the stage for pre-emptive wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The authors acknowledge what has long been assumed by sociologists, economists, and political scientists: people adopt conservative beliefs to serve their own self-interests. They agree that this helps explain the conservatism of "upper-class elites." However, the authors hold that the personal need to "reduce fear, anxiety, dissonance, uncertainty or instability" better explains why a vastly greater number of people who are not part of the elite, and particularly those who are disadvantaged or from low-status groups, "might embrace right-wing ideologies."

The authors also take issue with the common notion that people inherit ideological beliefs from their parents. A statistically significant correlation exists between the two, but it is far from overwhelming. The authors maintain, "Conservative ideologies, like virtually all other belief systems, are adopted in part because they satisfy various psychological needs."

One study of dream lives discovered that Republicans had three times as many nightmares as Democrats.

Conservatives have not taken kindly to "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition." Will, perhaps fearing the truth, ridiculed the study in the *Washington Post*, making fun of the authors' academic jargon.

Yet this delineation of the psychological needs that motivate conservatives provides progressives with lessons on how they might communicate with a wider audience. For example, when speaking to the problems of the PATRIOT Act, administration critics could reach out to a conservative audience by emphasizing that the act presents a radical infringement on the Bill of Rights, and should therefore be opposed by all who value the precepts on which America was founded. ■

The GOP's Texas Power Grab

By Salim Muwakkil

One of the major goals of the "southern strategy" pioneered by the Republican Party during the 1968 presidential campaign of Richard Nixon was to taint the Democratic Party as the party of "nigger lovers." More specifically, the GOP understood they could use race as an issue to wedge whites away from a Democratic Party that increasingly seemed to have enlisted in the civil rights movement.

Mississippi Sen. Trent Lott lost his leadership post for publicly yearning for that era. But his party continues to work the angles of the southern strategy, and it still uses race as a political wedge. Demagogic use of immigration issues and affirmative action are two examples of how racial concerns still stir the pot. But the current legislative imbroglio in Texas best reveals both the subtlety and the persistence of this classic GOP gambit.

In case your hunger for governmental theater has not been satiated by the recall circus in California, let me fill you in on the drama in the Lone Star State: A second special session of the Texas legislature expired last month after 11 of Texas' 12 Senate Democrats fled to Albuquerque, New Mexico, to deny the 31-member senate a two-thirds quorum on a redistricting vote. And now yet another special session has been scheduled by the determined governor.

The Texas GOP is seeking to redraw the state's congressional electoral map to cram the state's minorities into a few, already Democratic districts. Democrats argue the plan violates the Voting Rights Act by concentrating black and Latino voters into fewer districts, creating a majority of largely white congressional districts more likely to vote Republican.

They say this effort is part of a national strategy, designed by White House political director Karl Rove and House majority leader Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas), to use Republican-controlled state legislatures to help lock in a GOP congressional majority. The state that both Rove and DeLay call home is a major target of this strategy. Texas' Republican Gov. Rick Perry is their main point man.

Perry tried to ram a GOP-friendly remap

through the state legislature during the regular session. But Democratic house members fled to Oklahoma to prevent a quorum until the session expired. They argued that redistricting only made sense after a census revealed new population shifts. Federal judges drew the current state map in 2001 after the 2000 census. Democrats won a 17-15 congressional majority in the 2002 elections based on that map.



The Texas GOP's attempt to redraw the electoral map so soon is clearly a power move based on partisan political advantage rather than democratic principles. Progressive activist groups, like MoveOn.org, have linked the Texas action to other GOP efforts like the California recall and a similar redistricting dispute in Colorado.

Perry next convened a special session of the legislature to pass the plan, but 12 of Texas' 31 Senators opposed the remap, and under the Senate's rules and tradition, a two-thirds vote was required to consider any bill. The plan was shelved. But the determined governor then called a second special session in which the Republicans imposed new rules ending the two-thirds requirement for a bill to pass the Senate. That's when the senators bolted to Albuquerque.

"We do not take lightly our decision to leave the state," explained Sen. Rodney Ellis in a public letter written from New Mexico. "It was the only means left to us under the rules of procedure in Texas to block this injustice."

In addition to trashing the tradition of decennial redistricting, Ellis said the GOP's effort elevates partisan politics

above minority voting rights and "intends to decimate the Democratic Party in Texas."

The racial aspect of this legislative dispute has been downplayed in media accounts, but the boycotting 11 Democrats—nine of whom are minorities—contend it is the major issue. "Our Senate colleagues think we did this for show. They're very uncomfortable every time we bring up the black or Hispanic issue," said Sen. Leticia R. Van de Putte, head of the Democrats' Senate caucus, at a recent news conference. "But this is about the consolidation of power and trying to direct control of the U.S. House for the next 20 years."

Ironically, the Voting Rights Act also has been invoked to justify the creation of the kind of supermajority congressional districts that Texas Republicans now champion. Thus, the stand by the Texas legislators also illustrates the growing maturity of minority-elected officials. No longer are they satisfied by the limited, symbolic benefits of an additional black or Latino member of Congress. If

'This is about the consolidation of power and trying to direct control of the U.S. House for the next 20 years.'

the congressional agenda is smothered by GOP dominance, those black or brown faces mean little.

A successful GOP effort in Texas will likely ensure that Republicans control the U.S. House for at least a decade. Even worse, it will further polarize political parties along racial and ethnic lines by making electoral coalitions more difficult. White Democrats with moderate-to-liberal leanings will be increasingly rare in Texas, as their integrated electorates disappear.

If DeLay has his way, Republicans increasingly will be white suburbanites and urban minorities will be Democrats. When partisan politics becomes electoral apartheid, that's southern strategy for the 21st century. ■

Kobe and the New Currency of 'No'

By Paula Kamen

In debating the high-profile felony sexual-assault case against Kobe Bryant over the past months, media commentators have been largely been preoccupied with one single issue of social consequence: What does this mean for the Nutellas and the Nikes?

But what about the bigger-picture story beyond the lost corporate endorsements of nut butter and sneakers?

This case is still controversial. But the fact that it made the light of day is unprecedented. Society has begun to accept the criminalization of acquaintance rape in its most traditionally dismissed form: an encounter that both parties admit started off consensually.

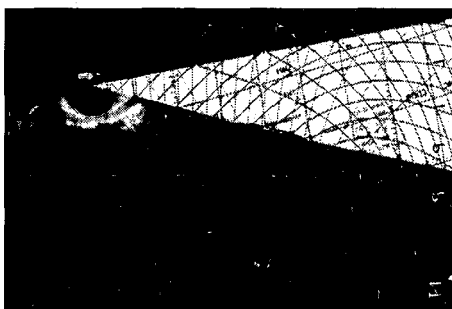
Meanwhile, but much more under the radar, the growing authority of a woman's "no" has surfaced in other public arenas. In late July, Illinois Gov. Rod Blagojevich approved a law stating that a woman has a right to change her mind at any point during sex—probably the first of many similar state laws. While it has become nationally controversial, the law is merely meant to make existing legislation clearer to victims, offenders, prosecutors and juries. Lawmakers want to avoid the confusion that resulted from such a California case involving two 17-year-olds, that had dragged on for years in the courts and was finally settled in the state Supreme Court in January.

Or, as one young female Court TV reporter put it to a very leery John Hannity on a Fox News discussion of Bryant's case: "If I give you \$5, that doesn't mean I have to hand over my whole bank account." I especially took note of the spirited debate on *Hannity* and *Colmes* because a few days earlier I had witnessed the same one take place almost word for word, in an entirely different forum—among the audience after a performance of *Sex Signals*, a partly improvised and largely comedic play.

Since 2000, thirty-something producers and actors Gail Stern and Christian Murphy have made this play an innovative export of Chicago's improv scene by turning it into some of the most influential and popular anti-rape programming in

the country. So far, they have performed the play before hundreds of student groups, and thousands of freshmen starting college this fall are seeing the show as a part of their orientation.

The complexities and subtleties of *Sex Signals* reflect how far the issue of date rape has advanced, even since I was in college in the late '80s, when the very concept of date rape was in question. In



Sex Signals, with the central male character actually being portrayed as likable (just like Kobe Bryant clearly still is), this play stands in stark contrast to comparable educational dramas from even the '90s. Then the men were characterized simplistically, as the purely devilish Sigma Chi with the Roofies. (A common scenario was the guy taking the woman out to an expensive dinner of steak and lobster, to weaken her resistance. As a result, the primary lesson that many of us absorbed was limited to indelibly associating felony-sexual assault with surf and turf.)

In this updated drama, the central case-study being debated involves a first date between two affable college students. The audience quizzes an actor, playing the male protagonist Matt, about just what took place that night. He reveals that he had ignored the woman, Joelle, when she told him to stop at the start of sexual intercourse. Just like in life, the situation seems complex. Joelle was not a passive bystander before quietly asking him to stop.

Clearly, the audience for this Chicago performance was not in complete agreement over every issue. And the laws in this country are often ahead of some popular opinion, especially among older

women, who think that all bets are off once a woman visits a man's hotel room, no matter how the "vibe" has changed. But the fact that this dialogue is taking place in such detail and with such new sophistication is very revealing.

While speaking at college campuses, I have observed a major generation gap. Young women take this issue of consent as being basic to their sex lives—not being anti-sex, or neo-Victorian, as some critics have accused—but being "pro-control."

Unlike their "elders" from the '70s sexual revolution, they define true sexual liberation as not only being able to say yes, but also being able to say no. The reframing of date rape is a part of the same growing "pro-control" and more clearly "pro-sex" philosophy of young feminists campaigning for student access to the "morning-after" pill or Emergency Contraception (EC)—also a major focus of today's campus activism.

Yet, at the end of *Sex Signals*, Stern actually tells her audience to forget the legal issues, exact definitions of what does and does not define rape, and look at what is moral, how we want to treat each

Young women take the issue of consent as being basic to their sex lives.

other. She asks if forcing sex means more to us than "hurting someone we like."

Such public discussions about rape have replaced external social controls of the past, such as strict dorm codes that separated the sexes in the '60s, and social norms that blamed the woman for immodesty. Instead, we are progressing toward establishing a simple Sexual Golden Rule. And that's the very true type of sexual liberation for which this generation is striving, in their overwhelmingly unpublicized—and improvised—everyday lives. ■

Paula Kamen is a Chicago-based freelance journalist and playwright and the author of Her Way: Young Women Remake the Sexual Revolution.

DRUG DEALS

The profits in patents

By Dean Baker

President Bush and Congress have been anxious to pass a Medicare prescription drug benefit in response to the pain inflicted by rising drug costs. The typical senior household now spends nearly 10 percent of its after-tax income on prescription drugs. For poorer families, or those with serious medical problems, the costs are far greater, in many cases absorbing a lifetime of savings in a matter of months. Furthermore, with drug costs rising at the rate of 10 percent a year, the problem is rapidly getting worse with time.

Given these facts, it is not surprising that there is considerable pressure on politicians to include a prescription drug benefit within Medicare that will help defray some of these costs. This is the reason both houses of Congress recently approved Medicare drug bills. These bills are projected to cost approximately \$400 billion over the next 10 years.

It has often been pointed out that these bills are grossly inadequate. In 2006, when the bills would first take effect, the average senior would be paying more for prescription drugs even with the benefit, than they were paying without a Medicare drug benefit in 2000, when Bush first promised it in his campaign. By 2013, the last year of the budget planning horizon, even with the benefit in place, seniors would be paying nearly twice as much for their prescription drugs as they did in 2000.



The response of many to these facts is to argue for a more generous benefit—if the government is prepared to spend more money, then the savings to seniors will be greater. However, the arithmetic shows that this is not a plausible route either. The projections from the Congressional Budget Office show that prescription drugs will cost seniors nearly \$2 trillion over the next decade. There is no plausible scenario in which the government will be picking up enough of this tab to substantially alleviate the burden on seniors.

Fortunately, there is a simple alternative route to providing seniors with affordable drugs—make them cheap. The arithmetic here is quite simple. Drugs are actually quite cheap to produce in most cases. The

only reason drugs are expensive is that the government grants companies patent monopolies, which allow them to charge whatever they want, without the threat of competition. In the absence of patent monopolies, drug prices would fall by 70 to 80 percent on average, and in some cases considerably more.

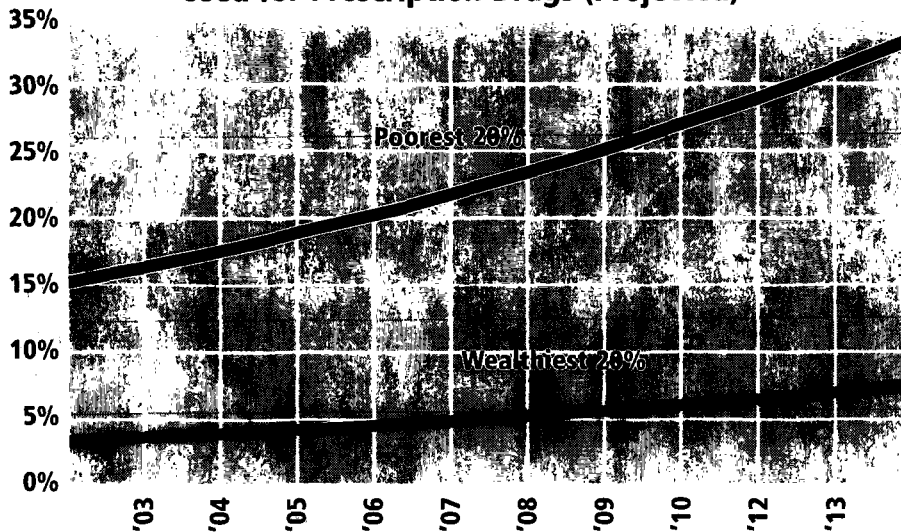
Of course, the drug industry rightly points out that patents give them the money and incentive to research new drugs. This is true, but there is a very simple answer—have the government pay for the research directly instead of by granting patent monopolies.

The arithmetic on this one is also simple. According to the drug industry's own numbers: consumers pay about \$4 in higher drug prices for every dollar of industry funded research. The other \$3 go to profits, sales promotion, lobbying, and other expense. Furthermore, much of the industry money is wasted researching copycat drugs—drugs that largely duplicate the function of existing drugs.

In a world with patent protection, such drugs provide an element of competition but in a world where drugs are sold in a competitive market, there would be little reason for most of this research. The industry estimates that close to 70 percent of its research falls into this copycat category.

The alternative to direct government support for research would actually just extend current practices. The federal gov-

Percent of Seniors' After Tax Income Used for Prescription Drugs (Projected)



Source: Congressional Budget Office, Consumer Expenditure Survey and author's calculations.

By 2013, the poorest seniors could be spending a third of their income on prescription drugs.

ernment currently spends \$25 billion a year financing research through the National Institutes of Health (NIH), nearly as much research as the industry funds. The difference is that NIH finances the basic research and then lets the industry get the patents and the profits.

If the funding for NIH were increased enough to replace the industry's research—with all patents placed in the public domain, so that drugs could be produced in a competitive market—drug prices would fall 70 to 80 percent. As a side benefit, billions of people in developing nations would have access to low-cost generics. On top of this, the quality of research would almost certainly be improved, as market competition would eliminate the incentive to distort and conceal research findings created by patent monopolies.

Representative Dennis Kucinich, who is running for the Democratic presidential nomination, has proposed the "Free Market Drug Act," which goes exactly this route. It would cost approximately \$250 billion over the next decade, yet it would save seniors far more on prescription drugs than either of the bills approved by Congress. The Free Market Drug Act is a serious way to address the problem of out-of-control drug prices—it remains to be seen if any other politicians are prepared to address this issue in a serious way. ■

Dean Baker is the co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research. He also is the author of the Economic Reporting Review, a weekly online commentary on the economic reporting in the New York Times and Washington Post, available at www.cepr.net.

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Roller Coaster of Coverage

By Andrew Johnson

The country's seniors are debilitated by Medicaid and Medicare's poor management, inadequate coverage and unclear attempts to compensate for drug companies' soaring prices. And, according to one senior, scavenging to Canada for drugs is hardly the solution.

Pearline Atkins, a 67-year-old Chicago native, began her battle with Medicaid/Medicare in 1994, when cancer came, forced her to leave work and cost her employer-provided insurance. She was asked to leave the Board of Education in Chicago, a decision forcing her to return to Africa to have a difficult surgery.

Since then, Pearline has been on a roller coaster of Medicaid coverage to pay for ulcers, cholesterol, pain and brittle bone medication. The programs are constantly changing, expiring and leaving her off and even six months she finds herself applying for when the administrator charges. Pearline explains, "I've tried, I've tried, and they don't think about the person I cover."

The unreliability of the government programs forces many seniors like Pearline—already financially unstable—to skip prescriptions, eat pills in half or simply not eat. Pearline usually sacrifices her first and occasionally she must choose between two drugs.

Pearline is well aware that the culprits for the crisis include not only the government, but pharmaceutical companies who keep drug prices soaring while killing close ties with legislators. "There are so many drug lobbyists in Springfield, you can walk without seeing them everywhere you look," she says.

While the government's economists and drug companies decide the fate of Pearline and her fellow seniors, she and many others keep on her end of the battle by joining groups like the Jane Addams Senior Citizens' which pushes for improvement of seniors' care. "Things are looking good," she says for seniors. "Pearline says, 'I've got to be able to do it, I've got to keep going.'"

By R.M. Arteta

ALTAR, SONORA, MEXICO

Altar, the Mexican government's well-known truck stop in May, is the smuggling business here and elsewhere along the border. This town of 17,000 remains a jumping-off point for thousands of migrants trying to get to the United States. A city of 19,000 people, Altar is a thriving underground economy.



This dangerous journey across the merciless Sonoran desert fattens the pocket of everyone but the migrant—from the buses, vans, and pickup trucks that shuttle migrants to *la linea* (the border), to the hotels and safe houses, to the scores of small, makeshift businesses that sell them their food, water, clothing, blankets, and shoes.

Mireya Morales, 32, landed in this dusty border town after more than a month of trying to get to the United States.

Morales left her comfortable home in Denver, when her mother, who lived in Mexico, became deathly ill. Since she was in the United States illegally, she had reservations about going to Mexico, but it was either take the risk, or never

see her mother—who was dying from cancer—alive again.

So Morales left her husband in charge of their two boys, 5 and 9, packed a few items and headed to Durango. Six weeks later, her mother died in her arms.

She estimates her journey from Durango has already cost \$2,500. She is braced to pay more. So far she has paid out \$1,600 for a *pollero* (smuggler) to take her to Phoenix and then get her back to Colorado. That doesn't include the \$150 she paid someone to help her cross the Rio Grande—a failed attempt. Or the \$400 she paid for fake documents when she tried to cross at the El Paso-Juarez line—another failed attempt. Or of the money for buses, food and hotels she spent when her *pollero* directed her

to travel hundreds of miles to this Sonora outpost.

"Migration is solving our economic problems here," says Altar mayor Francisco Javier García Aten. "Transportes (buses and vans), phone call businesses, *casas de huéspedes* (hostel-like rooms), all of that converges to help our local economy. What would happen to Altar if there were no migrant phenomenon? We would be a very poor pueblo, extremely poor."

Since 19 undocumented migrants—13 of them Mexican—died in an airless tractor-trailer after being abandoned at a truck stop in South Texas in May, the Mexican government has intensified its campaign against smugglers. May's

stream out. Here, smugglers hover, ready to strike a deal. Cash checking businesses, telephone calling stands, tiny restaurants, and food stands line the street. Vendors sell baseball caps, winter jackets, gloves, blankets, knit hats, tennis shoes, t-shirts, backpacks. An auto repair shop and a grocery store are nearby. Two women push a cart around, hawking hot chocolate, coffee, a thick corn porridge-drink called *atole*, and sweet bread.

An estimated 700 to 1,000 migrants pass through the town each day. And they all need a place to rest. That's where *casas de huespedes* come in. In the scores of airless barracks-type, concrete rooms that line the back streets migrants rent space to sleep. These cement buildings hold two and three levels of carpet-covered plywood. Customers sleep side by side up to 14 across on each level. The rooms are dank, dark and musty. The scent of blood, diapers, dust, and desperation hangs thick in the air.

Maria, who agreed to an interview on the condition that her last name not be used, owns a *casa de huespede*. She says she charges 25 pesos or (about

Since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was established in 1984, the number of households living in poverty has increased by 80 percent, with some 75 percent of Mexico's people now living below the poverty line. Added to that, income is increasingly unequally distributed, leaving Mexico with one of the hemisphere's worst levels of income inequality.

The rural sector is in crisis, overwhelmed by grain imports from the United States, a decrease in commodity prices, and reduced government subsidies.

Mexican farmers get little if any support from the government. Between 1990 and 1994 the government provided Mexican farmers 33.2 percent of their yearly income. That figure has now dropped to 13.2 percent, and trade tariffs, lifted on U.S. imports in January, according to the terms of NAFTA, makes it even cheaper for Mexico to buy goods from the United States. For example, since NAFTA, U.S. corn exports have doubled and the price of corn produced by Mexican farmers dropped 48 percent, says Tim Wise of the Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University.

The agricultural crisis spurred by the NAFTA-mandated lifting of tariffs has

**'The time comes when you
get tired of working the
land and earning nothing.'**

Mexican migrants leaving Altar

sweeps were part of President Vicente Fox's efforts to stem the work of criminal groups who profit from the smuggling business, which officials estimate is the second most profitable criminal enterprise in Mexico after drugs. *Polleros*, also called coyotes, typically charge between \$1,500 and \$1,900 to bring migrants across the border to cities throughout the United States. But no one seriously thinks the crackdown will have much of an impact—not when need and hunger are fueling the push north. Says mayor Garcia Aten, "You can put 10,000 fences up and the migration won't stop."

Much of the activity in Altar takes place in the plaza in front of the church, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Every 20 minutes or so, buses pull up and migrants

\$2.50) for a sleeping slot. "We get about 30 people a night," she says. "It's better than sleeping on the street."

Many of the migrants are small farmers from southern Mexico who live in indigenous communities in Oaxaca, Chiapas, Veracruz, Guerrero, and Yucatan. "I have a parcel of land but it doesn't give any more *maize* (corn) or *frijol* (beans)," says Francisco Castro, a farmer from Juxtlahuaca, Guerrero, who came to Altar with his cousins, brother, friends and neighbors. In total there are eight of them—all from the same town. The youngest is 13. The oldest is in his 50s. "The time comes when you get tired of working the land and working and earning nothing, you sell and you get paid hardly anything. So we are leaving to help our families."

become a major issue in Mexican politics. A coalition of farmers' organizations has blocked highways, city streets, and government buildings to protest the tariff removal that has exacerbated rural poverty.

The tariff reductions favor Mexican industrialists such as the Confederation of Industrial Chambers, which has warned Fox not to renegotiate NAFTA. The tariff elimination allows Mexican manufacturers to buy imported raw materials cheaper than locally produced materials and then export their finished goods.

With such internal political pressure, Fox has been slow to address the agricultural crisis. Meanwhile, across the border, U.S. officials have suggested that renegotiation is not an option, lending credence to Fox's claims that such a process could

result in the loss of certain portions of the treaty that benefit Mexico. At a November 2002 meeting in Mexico City, Fox and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell reached an agreement to tighten border security, neglecting tariff concerns.

Without attempting to renegotiate NAFTA, Fox has taken only minimal steps to ameliorate the crisis, proposing subsidies for grain farmers and lower diesel and electricity costs for farmers. But even the "National Agreement on the Countryside" announced in April as a result of the months of farmer protests will not likely change trade rules until 2004 at the soonest. And that will be too late for many of Mexico's farmers, more than half of whom live in extreme poverty that leaves them with few options but to migrate north.

Mayor Garcia Aten says the economy of the towns in this region used to be based on agriculture and livestock. "The free trade agreement hit our economy extremely hard."

"I don't want to leave," says Pablo, a 19-year-old Oaxacan migrant who used to pick corn. "But you earn so little. I earn in a day in the United States what it takes us a week to make here. We have to work, send money home, that—that or starve."

Pablo and the other migrants have left their relatives, friends, homes, and community to face the cold, the heat, vigilantes with guns, bandits, and unscrupulous smugglers. In front of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, van after van pulls in and people pile out. They will walk lightly along the desert sands, stopping to rest curled up against the *saguaro* (cactus), dreaming of their homes and the north. They will head to meat packing plants in Illinois and chicken processing factories in Alabama; agricultural work in Florida and California. They will fan out to find work as waiters, housekeepers, gardeners, dishwashers, factory workers, child care workers, construction laborers, and painters.

Clemencia, a young woman from Oaxaca, clambers onto the flatbed truck taking her to the border. Her eyes hold both fear and expectation. She turns and asks softly, "Should we watch our children go hungry?" ■

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The Road to Citizenship

Immigrants and unions get on the same

Fifteen years ago, 43-year old Jose Gomez, fearing for his life, fled civil warfare in his native El Salvador and found asylum in the United States. Gomez works as a steward at the Congress Hotel in Chicago, where he and fellow workers have been on strike since June, fighting wage and benefit cuts. But because he doesn't have permanent residence status, he hasn't been able to visit his family in El Salvador or arrange to bring them here. He lives and works in limbo.

Gomez's problems are common among the 18 million foreign-born workers in the United States, about one-eighth of the workforce. As immigration has escalated in recent decades, especially from Latin America and Asia, American policies have failed to adapt to the growing importance of immigrants in American society—including the 9 million out of 34 million foreign-born residents of the United States who lack proper documents and are here illegally, according to an Urban Institute estimate.

In late September, Gomez will join nearly 1,000 other immigrants and their supporters from around the country for the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, a union-led campaign to build public support for immigrant rights.

The Freedom Ride buses will be making stops in more than 80 cities in 30 states before converging in Washington and then New York City for an October 4 rally that could number a couple hundred thousand.

Initiated by Gomez's own Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) union, the Freedom Ride aims to recover some of the progress toward a more rational and humane immigration policy that was drastically reversed in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. The riders hope to make the rights of immigrants a

broad-based campaign for civil rights and an issue in the 2004 election.

"It's important to put immigration on the national agenda again," says Eliseo Medina, Service Employees union (SEIU) vice-president. "It gives us the opportunity to go out and have a discussion with America."

Immigrants are concerned with issues of legalization and education, he says, but neither political party has clearly demonstrated a meaningful commitment. "It's not good enough to say a few words in Spanish," Medina says. "Are Democrats going to speak to this? Is there a plan? Will President Bush do it? It's not enough to wear cowboy boots and say I'm from a border state and understand Latinos."

Freedom Ride organizers are advocating for an amnesty of immigrants who are already here. In 1986, Congress provided amnesty and a road to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, but also attempted to crack down on illegal immigrants at work. Now, Freedom Riders want immigration policies that support reunification of families and unequivocally protect immigrants' rights in the workplace. Although the Republican Congress will not be passing progressive immigration legislation anytime soon, the Freedom Ride campaign reflects the growing worldwide movement of individuals transforming traditional ideas of citizenship by claiming universal human and workplace rights that transcend national boundaries.

In the '80s, the AFL-CIO supported anti-immigrant legislation in an effort to protect American workers from competition from low-wage "illegal aliens." But in February 2000, the labor movement reversed course. Reflecting the experience of unions like HERE, SEIU, UNITE (the historic garment and textile union), and the Laborers, the AFL-CIO argued for action to expand immigrant rights and organize them into unions. Today, these same unions hope that

zenship

s. By David Moberg

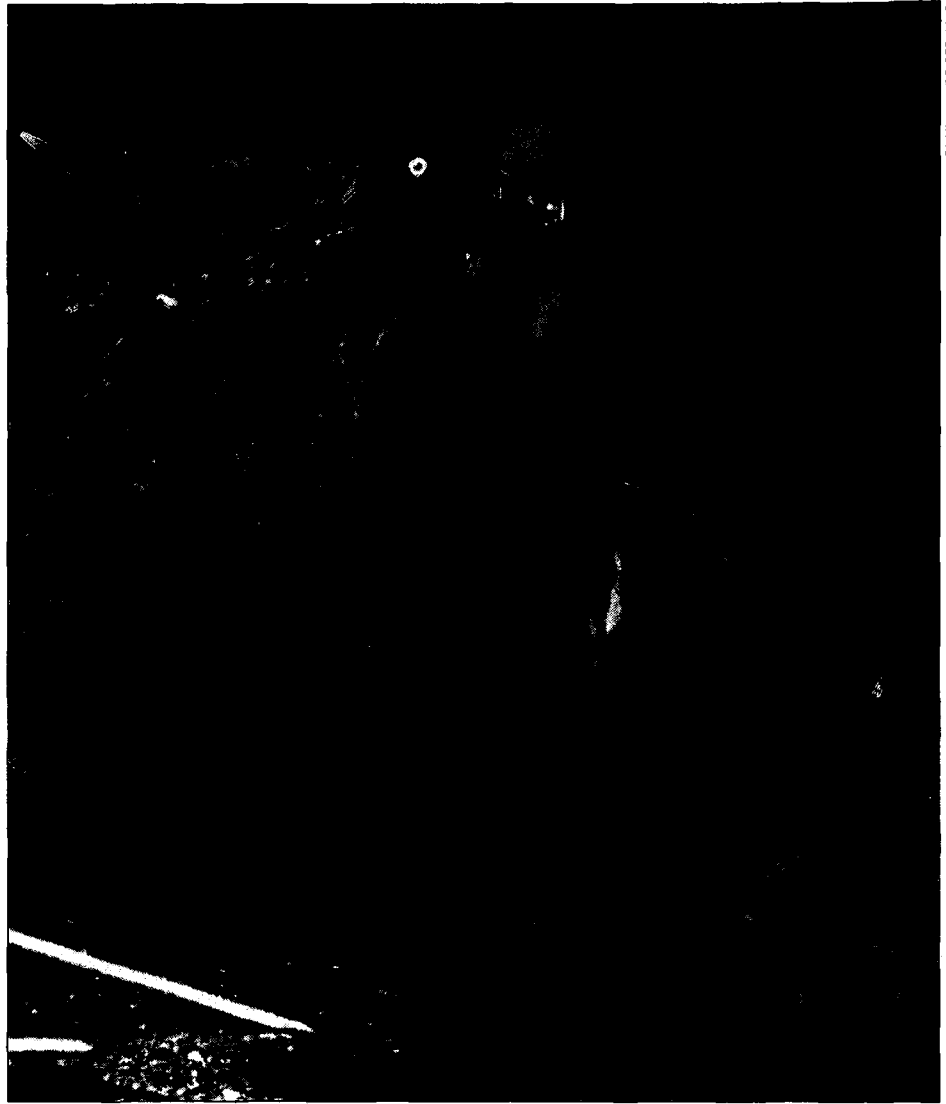
the Freedom Ride will resonate in immigrant communities and get immigrants involved in both unions and politics.

Immigrant workers, especially those without proper papers, are more easily intimidated and abused, and as a result of their powerlessness, employers frequently exploit them. That exploitation, in turn, drives down wages for other workers.

A recent study by UCLA's Chicano Studies Research Center found that concentration of new, especially Latin American, immigrants in an industry depresses wages. When recent Latino male immigrants make up 15 percent or more of a particular occupation, the study concluded, wages are driven down substantially for other minority workers, including both long-established Latino and black workers.

In many cases, the new, more poorly paid immigrants displace African-Americans, for example, in hotels, construction, meatpacking and other industries. Employers often play off one ethnic group against another. This is an increasingly common practice in poultry plants in the South, where newer Guatemalan immigrants are pitted against older immigrants from Mexico as well as blacks.

But the new immigrants, despite their vulnerability, are often willing to organize, as UNITE has found with laundry workers nationwide, the Roofers Union with home-construction workers in Arizona, Laborers with asbestos remediation workers in New York and New Jersey, and SEIU with its Justice for Janitors campaign. After years of successful organizing, SEIU used its increased control over local building service labor markets to win substantial wage and benefit gains for janitors around the country this year despite rising unemployment rates. In other cases, like the Guatemalan workers at a North Carolina



Jesus Pineda moves some tobacco for stripping on a Lexington, Kentucky farm.

poultry plant described in Leon Fink's new book, *Maya of Morganton*, immigrant workers organize themselves. If immigrants come to identify gaining their rights with the power of collective action rather than as a purely individual accomplishment, they are more likely to develop a progressive view of politics.

Despite the tensions that have developed between African-Americans and expanding new immigrant groups, the Freedom Ride has explicitly tied itself to the civil rights freedom rides of the '50s and '60s. An array of religious groups, such as Rainbow/PUSH coalition, have endorsed the ride. At a Chicago rally to build support, Denise Dixon, the African-American leader of Chicago's chapter of ACORN, a heavily black, low-income community group, explained why she was going to be a freedom rider. "As long as working people

let immigrants be harassed and intimidated, it keeps wages down for everybody," Dixon told the crowd. "I don't know about you, but I want to make some money."

In Illinois, where immigration has increased rapidly, organizing for the Freedom Ride has brought together immigrant groups and unions that had until recently pursued independent, even conflicting, strategies. The Bush administration's harsh policies towards immigrants have also convinced groups that they must work together. The detentions and deportations of Arab and Muslim immigrants, the prohibition of immigrants from holding airport security jobs, and tougher restrictions on students have received wide attention. But other policies—rationalized as in the interest of national security—have hit immigrant workers hard. Raids on airports, the Air Force Academy, and office build-

ings housing restaurants (like the Sears Towers) have led to the detention—and frequently deportation—of thousands of workers for immigration infractions. Last year the Bush administration sent out an unprecedented flood of letters to employers about workers whose Social Security numbers didn't match their names. Some workers were frightened into quitting. In some cases, employers abused the “no match” letters to inappropriately threaten or dismiss workers—leading to successful protests at both unionized and unorganized

would suppress wages, while cultural conservatives, with their nativist suspicion of all that is foreign, opposed expanding immigrant rights. For their part, many corporations supported new “guest-worker” programs that would regulate immigration by permitting businesses to bring in workers for specific jobs.

After September 11, Bush lost all interest in immigration reform, and a growing popular movement was dampened. But the political volatility of immigrant rights had already been demonstrated. In California, Democrats won control

of the state, in part, because in 1994, Latinos (and other immigrants) mobilized against the Republican-supported Proposition 187 that denied undocumented immigrants many public services. But immigration issues are not just important in the major centers of immigration. In Chicago's suburbs, for example, Latino factory workers who migrated to jobs in suburban locations and south Asian tech employees who first settled in the suburbs, may have played a role in shifting control of the Illinois state legislature and governor's office to the Democrats in 2002.

With progress at the national level stymied, immigrant rights groups have focused their efforts at the state and local level—opposing

Bush administration efforts to make local agencies enforcers of immigration law, making driver's licenses available to immigrants even without social security numbers (approved in September by the California legislature), and ensuring that children of undocumented illegal immigrants are eligible for in-state tuition (approved overwhelmingly this past May in Illinois, for example). In some cities, day laborers have won establishment of workers centers to make their job hunt more humane. In Chicago, however, the city recently destroyed an improvised hiring center despite laborers efforts to negotiate with a hostile city council member.

Winning the political allegiance of new immigrants could determine whether Democrats or Republicans control the government in many states. Yet it is not clear which party will prevail, despite the Democratic advantage among Mexicans, by far the largest immigrant group.

“We're not taking for granted this is a Democratic issue,” said HERE Local 1 president Henry Tamarin. “Let the parties compete for the voters.” While some conservative Republicans have recently led anti-immigrant initiatives, other Republicans favor expanded immigration and have proposed legislation designed to win immigrant support. In the U.S. Senate, conservative Republican Orrin Hatch has joined liberal Illinois Democrat Richard Durbin to co-sponsor legislation to encourage states to grant immigrant youth in-state tuition. But backlash is also playing a role in the California recall election. As anti-immigration forces have attacked Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, pro-immigrant groups have criticized Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Gov. Gray Davis has reached out to immigrants, reversing his earlier position on driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants.

Slightly more than a third of new immigrants are naturalized citizens who can vote, but their numbers will grow sharply in the future as more immigrants become naturalized. Unions like HERE, UNITE and SEIU are mobilizing immigrant workers for political work even when they can't personally vote. But the political impact of this new movement will depend partly on whether immigrant rights becomes an issue with which workers who are citizens can identify.

The Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride “is a huge step forward for people who care about immigrants,” says Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights executive director Josh Hoyt. “There will be no progress unless there's a serious coalition between immigrants rights, community groups and organized labor. This has created a fantastic vehicle for doing that. But I don't think there will be serious progress for immigrants, especially the undocumented, until their struggle becomes a civil rights struggle. We won't win major progress because Bush and [Mexican president Vicente] Fox ride horses together, but because immigrants and their allies force it.”

Organizers are hopeful despite the setbacks of the past two years. “The immigrant freedom ride is not the end. It's the beginning of the next phase of struggle for immigrant worker rights,” says the SEIU's Medina. “I think it's going to spark a whole new wave of interest in organizing in the community and workplace. This immigrant freedom ride is going to be like a match on a dry plain. It will spread everywhere.” ■

CAROL CLEERE / KRT



A migrant worker carries a bucket of green tomatoes to a waiting truck in exchange for a ticket stub.

Hilton hotels in Chicago.

The Supreme Court also ruled in its Hoffman Plastics decision last year that an undocumented immigrant who was illegally fired for union activity in an organizing drive was not eligible for back pay because he was in the United States without proper papers, leading to fears that courts and legislators would further deprive immigrant workers of legal protections. In a few cases, immigrants have been ruled ineligible for workers compensation, a particularly grievous action since Latino males are 2.5 times more likely to die on the job than other workers.

When Bush first entered office, he seemed interested in moving towards a new immigration policy, especially with Mexico, the largest source of recent immigration. But Republicans are divided on the issue. Free-market, pro-business conservatives saw open immigration as providing a supply of low paid workers that

Work Space

It's not a fight for a corner of the city.

CHICAGO— Any other Labor Day, this sleepy residential neighborhood on Chicago's Northwest Side would be bustling with late summer picnics and volleyball games. But on this rainswept holiday, the only Albany Park residents spending time at Compton's Park are a hardheaded group of *torneros*, mostly immigrant day laborers, and a handful of supportive neighbors.

The workers are gathered, as they are every morning, waiting for contractors to pick them up for temporary work doing light construction and manual labor. And the neighbors are here to kick off Community Day Laborer Watch, putting volunteers at the site to document civil rights abuses by the police. The watch, organized by the Latino Union of Chicago, is another barb in an increasingly hostile standoff between Albany Park day laborers and the city.

Until a week earlier, the laborers had been using an abandoned bus turnaround at another location to wait for work. The site, called the San Diego Workers' Center (SDWC) offered space for the workers to gather around organized meals and pickup soccer games; workers had access to grills and a portable outhouse. The circular driveway gave contractors a place to pull their cars off the roadway and negotiate with workers. And laborers had erected a crude plywood shack serving as a shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe and a shelter from the elements.

But on August 25, while Latino Union organizers and day laborer leaders were negotiating for a permanent site with Chicago Human Services Commissioner Ray Vasquez, city workers, accompanied by police, closed the Center, dismantling the shrine, and posting new signs announcing the workers' center had moved to a Kmart lot more than two miles away.

José Landaverde, executive director of the Latino Union, is the driving force behind the organizing effort. A United Methodist minister, he wears black work pants and a star-tinted cap to the site and opens press conferences with bilingual tapes and bilingual renderings of old labor



Hostility towards day laborers is growing.

songs. His training is not in labor organizing, but Salvadoran rebels adopted José and his brother when the military razed his village and left them orphaned. For Landaverde, organizing day laborers carries the undertones of an insurgent military campaign, with life-and-death consequences.

During the '90s he organized day laborers in Houston, honing an aggressive style of labor organizing and pioneering the drive for democratic workers' centers there. The Houston workers' centers—models for what organizers hope to achieve in Chicago—offer English and labor rights classes, job training, direct services for workers and a space for laborers to negotiate with contractors before getting into their cars. Centers in Los Angeles, run by the city, offer similar services.

The raid on the SDWC happened as negotiators were apparently making progress. Organizers decried the "unilateral" efforts of the city to throw the workers out of the neighborhood. But city officials claimed that there was simply no space for a permanent workers' center at the original site located in the

city's 35th Ward.

But Landaverde and Jessica Aranda, a Latino Union organizer, see the bus turnaround as a space that can serve as a pilot for the city. Opening a permanent workers' center in the 35th Ward is crucial to the campaign.

According to estimates by the Latino Union and the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, a primary contributor to the survey, 90 percent of day laborers at the site live in the 35th Ward.

The Latino Union has targeted a dozen locations in the area, which they hope to turn into permanent hiring halls with the cooperation of the city. One of these is the Home Depot lot in the nearby town of Cicero, a natural draw for laborers.

Nationally, forty percent of corner day laborers look for work at or near home improvement stores, according to the National Day Laborer Organizing Network. Home Depot's policy, which reflects a mainstream distrust of laborers, is to keep workers off its premises. Some stores have hired private security to keep men off the lots. But at least one Home Depot in L.A. has established a permanent hiring hall on its premises. Landaverde is in negotiations with Home Depot to open such a center in Cicero.

In Albany Park, pressure on the city and Alderwoman Margaret Laurino, who has been particularly hostile towards Latinos in her ward, seems to be paying off. Seventeenth District police have been hesitant to arrest workers for loitering or ticket contractors for blocking traffic, since the Day Laborer Watch began, and Laurino has agreed to meet with organizers for the first time since June.

Corner day labor is a growing national issue, tracking the rise of the immigrant population and the slowing economy. While Houston and Los Angeles have already found some viable solutions, other cities will have to recognize that temporary day labor provided by immigrants is an integral part of the economy. □



WARNING

YOU ARE BEING WATCHED

READING THIS MAGAZINE IN PUBLIC MAY RESULT IN QUESTIONING BY THE FBI

BY KRISTIE REILLY

In late April, two teen-age students in Oakland, California, got an unwelcome, real-life lesson in civics. During a heated class discussion at Oakland High School about politics and President Bush, the boys made comments the exact nature of which are in dispute, but which their teacher believed constituted a threat toward the president. The teacher went to the FBI.

Secret Service agents showed up at the high school the next day to interview the boys, both 16. The school principal sat in for an hour and a half as agents interviewed each student individually, without their parents' knowledge or consent. "He asked us questions like was I a good shooter ... was I a good sniper ... am I good dealing with guns, and what are my thoughts on the president," one of the boys told *San Francisco Bayview*. "I was very scared. I was crying because of what they said to us."

The FBI has followed up on thousands of "tips" since the attacks of 9/11. In June, Atlanta bookstore employee Marc Schultz found himself visited by FBI agents after someone spotted him reading an article titled "Weapons of Mass Stupidity" at a local coffee shop. Schultz has dark hair and a beard, and the combination was apparently enough to make someone call the FBI. Schultz says the agents told him: "There's no problem. We'd just like to get to the bottom of this. Now, if we can't, then you may have a problem. And you don't want that."

The FBI denies investigating anyone solely for First Amendment activities. "The mere fact that we go out and talk to someone does not cast aspersions on them, is not intended to violate their rights," says Ross Rice of the FBI's Chicago office.

Perhaps more disturbing than jarring visits from the FBI are signs that state, local, and federal law enforcement agencies are systematically monitoring First Amendment activities—including those of religious groups—

in the name of safety and security in a post-9/11 age.

The reorganization of federal law enforcement agencies into the Office of Homeland Security—along with the myriad new powers granted to law enforcement by Attorney General John Ashcroft—has resulted in an unprecedented consolidation of federal, state, and local law enforcement power.

The FBI contacted the San Francisco Independent Media Center after 9/11, according to Ian MacKenzie, a volunteer at the center, to investigate what they said was a posting threatening the president. Agents wanted user logs for the group's Web site, "which we don't have," MacKenzie says, "so we couldn't give to them." He says federal agents have contacted Indymedia centers around the country in efforts to discover the identities of specific online posters. "What it tells me," he says, "is that they keep track of us, and that they watch independent media centers."

Is MacKenzie paranoid? Maybe not. In March, San Francisco police told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that they routinely monitored the center's Web site, and infiltrated demonstrations announced on the site. San Francisco police also said they routinely videotape large demonstrations.

In the past year, state and local police departments from Oakland to Atlanta have admitted to monitoring political protest and other kinds of associational activity.

"I don't think this is different from people being visited in the '60s," says Ed Yohnka of the Illinois chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) "What we're seeing again today is a pattern across the country. This isn't a kind of random response. This is clearly part of affirmative policies to engage in these kinds of activities."

In March 2002, the ACLU filed a lawsuit in Denver charging that, beginning in the early '80s, police had monitored peaceful protest and First Amendment expression. "The police have no legitimate reason to keep files on the peaceful expression of

political views and opinions,” the ACLU’s Mark Silverstein said at the time.

Ignoring a city prohibition against the collection of First Amendment-related intelligence, the Denver Police developed files on 208 organizations and 3,200 individuals. The department appears to have continued its surveillance until the fall of 2002, despite the ACLU lawsuit. Monitored groups included the American Friends Service Committee (a pacifist Quaker group), Amnesty International and many others with no history of criminal activity. Documents obtained by the ACLU describe how police intercepted e-mails, recorded the license plate numbers of vehicles at demonstrations, and infiltrated advocacy group meetings.

Under the terms of a settlement reached in May, Denver police can no longer gather First Amendment-related information without a reasonable suspicion of criminal activity. As a result, the surveillance threshold in Denver is far higher than that of the federal government, particularly since Attorney General John Ashcroft loosened domestic spying guidelines last year.

Consent decrees like Denver’s were established in numerous U.S. cities in the wake of the COINTELPRO-era abuses of the ‘60s and ‘70s. But while Denver may represent a bright spot in the post-9/11 battle for civil liberties, other cities’ consent decrees are under assault. New York law enforcement officials successfully argued in court that the city’s decree hindered its investigations into terrorism, particularly in regard to snooping on mosques. Its restrictions on First Amendment-related surveillance have subsequently been eliminated.

In early 2001, the Chicago police won a similar effort to weaken its consent decree and, in the fall of 2002, began to utilize its renewed surveillance powers. City police sought the change, says Lt. Tina Skahill of the Chicago Police Office of Legal Affairs, because they needed greater power to fight “street gangs and guns and drugs. Basically what we’re interested in is the safety of the citizens.” But when asked whether the surveillance powers are being used solely to monitor “gangs and guns and drugs,” Skahill wavers: The modified consent decree is used in relation to “any information we have that comes to our attention where we believe the safety of citizens is concerned.”

As a major part of the Bush administration’s anti-terrorism strategy, the FBI added local police officers to the staff at its 66 regional Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs)—half of which were established after 9/11. Documents obtained by the ACLU in its Denver lawsuit portray an extraordinary level of surveillance of First-Amendment activity protected by the Bill of Rights. They also indicate a high level of cooperation between the Denver police and the FBI.

Denver police forwarded intercepted e-mails and the license

plate numbers of activists at nonviolent demonstrations to the Denver JTTF. The e-mails appear to be disturbingly minor: One sent in 2001 to members of the Rocky Mountain Animal Defense group contained only a few sentences, directing members to distribute an attached flyer that promoted a “Fur Free Friday” campaign.

A similar cooperation between local, state, and federal law enforcement may be reflected in a recent crackdown on activists in St. Louis. Demonstrators in that city had planned to protest at the annual meeting of the World Agricultural Forum in May. But before the protest, representatives from several police departments, including Seattle’s, visited St. Louis police to share tactics and information about violent protest. Though St. Louis police deny making preemptive arrests, activists say that as a result of these visits, two days before the scheduled demonstration, police pre-emptively

arrested 22 of the protest organizers. “The [visiting police] basically put the St. Louis Police Department on a state of high alert,” says J. Justin Meehan, an attorney who represented those arrested. “Sensing the worst, the police decided to proactively and unilaterally have a pre-emptive strike.”

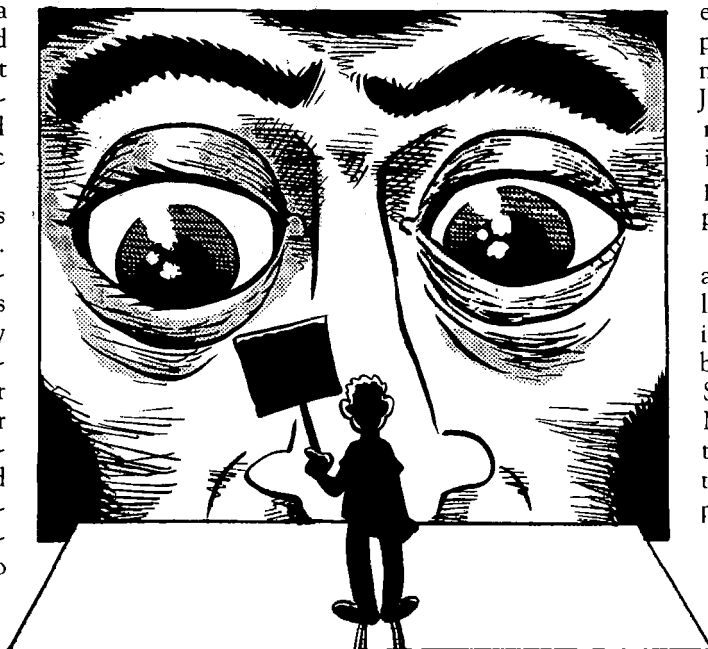
Meehan says he and other activists believe federal and state law enforcement were also involved in the arrests: “It is believed the Office of Homeland Security was involved,” says Meehan. “There were officers there who refused to identify themselves and who were in a position of authority.”

Ashcroft’s Justice Department also advises police officers in at least some states to gather information on “enemies in our own backyard.” In a police training manual titled

“A Police Response to Terrorism in the Heartland: Integrating Law Enforcement Intelligence and Community Policing” officers are encouraged to investigate members of the “Green Movement”—defined as “environmental activism that is aimed at political and social reform with the explicit attempt to develop environmental-friendly policy, law and behavior.”

In February, *Newsweek* reported that the FBI plans to set investigative and wiretap goals based on demographic information, including the number of mosques in an area. The Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003, or Patriot II, which Congress will take up in the coming months, would also eliminate municipal agreements that limit investigations and intrusive monitoring. “This is not simply a random circumstance,” says the ACLU’s Yohnka, “but appears to be part of a larger, broader pattern coming out of Washington, D.C.”

Activists are feeling the heat. “Not to be alarmist, but what’s increasingly clear to me—and I don’t do anything illegal, I’m a volunteer with a leftist news organization—is that no one is safe,” says MacKenzie from the San Francisco Indymedia Center. “Anyone can be and will be targeted. It should be sobering. Liberals, leftists—everyone is a target.” ■



This Is Not an Essay on Political Art

By Kathryn Rosenfeld

In November 2002, I took the Green Line of Chicago's El for the first time. I went exactly one stop: from the heart of the Loop to its western edge, just above the new headquarters of the Boeing Corporation. A few more blocks west lies the area that has come to be called the West Loop. This neighborhood was once the meatpacking district, and before that the Haymarket district of late 19th-century radical history fame.

Today the former Haymarket is lined with trendy, pricey restaurants, while in the surrounding streets the remnants of industry sit side by side with exorbitantly priced loft homes for yuppies. To this mix, add the cluster of contemporary art galleries that over the past several years has come to constitute the commercial center of Chicago's art world.

The street below the Boeing building was the step-off point for a march against the Transatlantic Business Dialogue, a trade summit between American and European governmental and corporate powers, taking place in Chicago that week. As I walked toward the wall of riot cops, the frustrated commuters, and the sounds of chanting and drums, I was struck by the weird, rich confluences offered by urban geography. Here was Chicago's first big anti-globalization protest gathering force in the city's heart of corporate power. How many of the players in this drama—the protesters, the cops, the executives and office workers—were aware that, more than a century ago, the Haymarket riot had taken place mere blocks away, amidst the factories and warehouses that were the shiny office towers of their day?

I knew of several artists and artist groups that had contributed both their presence and their work to the TABD protest. In fact, Chicago has made significant contributions to the creativity and visual ebullience that characterize such protests worldwide. For example, the large Bush, Cheney, and Rumsfeld heads first seen in New York at the 2002 World Economic Forum are the work of a group that arose from the Department of Space and Land Reclamation, a Chicago artist-activist collective. From bicycle tires that stamp messages on the pavement to surveillance



camera walking tours, the ingenuity and cultural savvy of artists has infused and strengthened the so-called anti-globalization movement in the streets, on the Internet, and in daily practice.

Yet, I wondered, how many of the artists present at the TABD protest shared my sense of irony at the proximity of global capital and its discontents to the city's art market? Is it any coincidence that art galleries, fancy restaurants, and skyrocketing real estate values arrive hand in hand in gentrification scenarios such as the West Loop?

The intersection of art and politics is an old story. Throughout the modern period, artists have joined, contributed to, spoken out on behalf of, made art reflecting the positions of, and, in a few cases, started social and political movements. We have political art, activist art, the politics of art, and art as activism.

But when, if ever, have artists actually made use of the analyses offered by the political movements and philosophies that attract them, and applied the ideas directly and specifically to their own social, cultural, and economic positions as artists? And, if ever there was a crucial time for such a move, isn't that time now?

To begin to answer this last and most

"Got oil?" asks StreetRec, a Chicago collective that evolved out of the DIY "Department of Space and Land Reclamation." Opposite page: *Punch and Judy*, by outspoken feminist Miriam Shapiro.

pressing question, it's necessary to address the sticky problem of "the art world." After all, don't artists constitute the bulk and *raison d'être* of this "world," and aren't they therefore responsible for its excesses and exclusivities? Aren't the galleries and dealers, the critics and curators—all the non-artist elements of the art world, both commercial and noncommercial—there because of art and artists? Or is asking such a question comparable to asking whether the minimum-wage Wal-Mart employee is responsible for the disappearance of small business?

It's safe to assume that art and artists ventured into radical politics well before the last few centuries. But the political movement as we currently understand it is a quintessentially modern phenomenon, and the history of modernism in art has adhered to its development in some illuminating ways. The European avant-gardes of the early 20th century were closely bound to the era's various radicalisms, so much so that the overthrow of

formal and narrative convention in, for example, Cubist painting or Dada poetry, was viewed as tantamount to social insurrection. A bit later, modernists reappropriated content and narrative in opposing the rise of fascism, such as in the photomontages of Hannah Hoch or the political cartooning of George Grosz. It's no coincidence that almost all the moderns were lumped together and condemned by the Nazis as "degenerate" artists.

In America, the relationship between formal and political radicalism followed a sort of reverse trajectory. The early 20th-century genre painters and regionalists—whose social realist style, influenced by the strongly Marxist Mexican mural movement, became the "look" of most art sponsored by the New Deal's Works Progress Administration—were often vocal proponents of the period's socialist and anarchist tendencies. But when modernism jumped the Atlantic after World War II, a tenacious conservatism took hold in the American art world.

While still sometimes maintaining progressive views as individuals, the Abstract Expressionists insisted their art was apolitical. This definition of art was proffered by influential critics like Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg, who are credited with making American modernism what it was in the mid-20th century. These critics garnered not only patronage but broad popular attention for the artists, through which their art was absorbed into the reactionary national mood of the Cold War. As Ann Eden Gibson shows in her *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics*, federal anti-Communist propaganda even cited Abstract Expressionism as proof of American freedom.

Meanwhile, the relative seamlessness between the financial drivers of the art world (patrons, collectors, museum trustees) and the core of American capital often went unquestioned. This inextricable combination of conservatism, inextricability with capitalism, and ignorance or complicity on the part of artists continues to infuse and prevent real change in today's art world, despite the liberalism of many practitioners.

In the late '60s, artists took up and were taken by the overall spirit of rebellion against postwar conservatism. Influenced by the movement against the Vietnam War and radical groups like the

Black Panthers, New York's Art Workers Coalition (AWC) encouraged the visible participation of artists in these struggles, while also indicting the art establishment for its exploitation of artists and its reactionary tendencies. Minimalist sculptor and AWC leader Carl Andre admonished fellow artists "not to become a weapon in the hands of those we despise."

In 1970, hundreds of artists sat in on the steps of the Metropolitan Museum, successfully closing the institution, as part of the New York Art Strike Against War, Repression and Racism. However, many AWC members treated the group as a more straightforward trade union, seeking health plans and higher income for artists without questioning the imbalance of wealth between artists and art sellers, or the bedfellowship of cultural leaders and the military-industrial complex (as later described by Frances Stonor Saunders in *The Cultural Cold War*). Eventually the impulse toward individual success and competition won out among artists, as it had in most fields by the 1980s.

Like the left, the art world was also permeated by feminism in the '60s and '70s. In California, artists Miriam Shapiro and Judy Chicago made a radical break from abstraction and, with a group of students, created Womanhouse, a collection of content-heavy, feminist-inflected instal-

lations and performance works that manifested the "personal is political" credo. In New York, a group of artists and art professionals formed the Women's Art Movement, picketing museums and galleries for equal representation across gender and race, and challenging the art world's notorious boys-club status. This feminist and activist legacy was carried into the last decades of the century by groups like the Guerrilla Girls (the "conscience of the art world," according to their slogan) and the heavily artist-supported Women's Action Coalition, who raised pro-choice, anti-sexist, and anti-censorship hell during the 1992 political conventions.

In the late '80s and early '90s, the art world seemed to embrace the political and critical. After all, '60s veterans and their protégés were now the curators, critics, and academics that make up what might be called art-world middle management. It was also the heyday of AIDS activism, a visually strategic and art-heavy political movement from which anti-globalization has taken many tactical cues. The much-debated 1995 Whitney Museum of American Art Biennial formed itself around identity politics, featuring work that openly explored issues of race, gender, and sexuality. However, critics decried the subtlety of much of this work, which in any case was, like its Conceptualist forebearers, often unmarketable. By the late '90s, radical chic had once again given way to a glut of archly ironic art-world in-humor, and a general paucity of meaning.

What has not changed in the art world is the set of conditions described three decades ago by the Art Workers Coalition and the feminist art movement. Those at the zenith of power—the museum directors and trustees, the wealthiest collectors and patrons—are still the same people who run and reap the profits of global megacorporations. Read the small print under the wall text next time you go to a museum: It's likely to thank some huge and famously exploitative oil, apparel, or biotech company for its patronage. Museum administrators and curators, if they are critical at all, will tend to say that such corporate "partnering" is regrettably necessary to keep doors open and art on view. This is especially ironic given curatorial penchants in the last decade or so for progressively themed, even politically and socially critical shows.



MIRIAM SHAPIRO

Elites at the zenith of power in the art world are the same people who run and reap the profits of global megacorporations.

For their part, in the face of a saturated and highly competitive field, most artists would rather have their work seen by as many people as possible than languish in obscurity based on principle.

Museums are, of course, only one channel of distribution. So it's worth asking: How does the paradigm established by the marriage between art and capital affect the production-distribution-consumption cycle in the rest of the art world? Like every other sector of Western capitalism, the art world is now fully globalized. Jet-setting to commercial art fairs around the world is more or less compulsory for the successful artist or art professional. At these fairs, of which the annual Art Chicago at Navy Pier is a prototypical example, the raw commerce of the global art trade is on public view to an extent rarely seen in other venues.

Today, many commercial galleries make the bulk of their earnings at international art fairs, but this is not to say that bottom-linesmanship rears its head only at these summits. Among art-world denizens, one is viewed as naïve at best if one expresses surprise or indignation at the back-room deal making and ruthless competition that are business as usual among commercial art dealers.

Are all art dealers, then, by nature smarmy, morally bankrupt people? Of course not. Many enter the business with the genuine intention of advocating for artists and art, only to find that they must play the commodity game to stay there. Idealistic, usually post-graduate "alternative spaces" tend to last a year or two. At the same time, bypassing the for-profit sector is a less and less viable way to preserve art for art's sake. In the culture of late capitalism, with its ubiquitous embrace of the profit-above-all credo, the altruistic model of philanthropy is all but obsolete.

Patronage of cultural organizations and endeavors was once, so the story goes, a way to affirm one's belief in the necessity of art. (As Newt Gingrich said at the height of the culture wars, "If rich people like things, they should pay for them.") Today, increasingly, philanthropy is a form of investment. Investors expect to see a return on their money. In the world of nonprofit cultural organizations, this has meant an assimilation of the notion that donors have a right to dictate content and make creative decisions. In combination with the drying-up of government support for the arts over the

past decade, this has effectively meant that content-driven models are subsumed by broad appeal and marketability as necessities of financial survival.

Naturally, the losers in all of this are the artists, which leads us back to the central question: Why have not artists, particularly those familiar with or participating in anti-corporate, anti-capitalist struggles, more widely applied the analyses behind these movements to their own situations?

Because many artists and art professionals are liberals or progressives, many of whom produce and exhibit critical work, and all of whom inherit the legacy of the modernist avant-garde, it is easy and common to view the art world as a permissive and left-leaning place. Enabled by this assumption and the desire for exposure and success, most artists continue to seek distribution through traditional and established channels. Sometimes this occurs regardless of the work's content. And sometimes, consciously or otherwise, via the conformity of art school and the marketplace, that content shifts to accommodate current art-world fashion.

Artists who do seek an alternative the market often adopt a DIY spirit putting their work in the service of no art causes and projects, crafting their own means of distribution, and actively rejecting the trappings of the art world. The disadvantage here is a limitation to audiences of the converted. However, neither the stay-in model nor the drop-out approach produces any real threat to the hegemony of the art-capital paradigm.

Until the production and distribution of art can be effectively divorced from the machinations of global capital, the unfamous majority of artists will continue to be, in effect, the minimum-wage drones of the global art industry.

To begin to change this, we have to dig so far down into our very understanding of what art is—including the intact, often subconscious assumption that art and capital are somehow synonymous—that the very concept of "art" may outlive its utility. ■

Kathryn Rosenfeld was an editor at the late New Art Examiner, and is now an editor at Bridge. She lives and writes in Chicago.

Will She Ever Die?

By Slavoj Žižek

The life and work of Leni Riefenstahl, who died on Monday at age 101, seems to lend itself to a mapping of a devolution, progressing toward a dark conclusion. It began with the early "mountain films" of the 1920s that she starred in and later began directing as well, which celebrated heroism and bodily effort in the extreme conditions of mountain climbing. It went on to her notorious Nazi documentaries in the '30s, celebrating bodily discipline, concentration, and strength of will in sport as well as in politics. Then, after World War II, in her photo albums, she rediscovered her ideal of bodily beauty and graceful self-mastery in the Nuba African tribe. Finally, in her last decades, she learned the difficult art of deep sea diving and started shooting documentaries about the strange life in the dark depths of the sea.

We thus obtain a clear trajectory from the top to the bottom: We begin with rugged individuals struggling at the mountain tops and gradually descend, until we reach the

amorphous teem of life at the bottom of the sea. Is not what she encountered down there her ultimate object, the obscene and irresistibly thriving eternal force of life itself, what she was searching for all along? And does this not apply also to her personality? It seems that the fear of those who are fascinated by Leni is no longer "When will she die?" but "Will she ever die?" Although rationally we know that she has just passed away, we somehow do not really believe it. She will go on forever.

This continuity of her career is usually given a fascist twist, as in the exemplary case of the famous Susan Sontag essay on Leni, "Fascinating Fascism." The idea is that even her pre- and post-Nazi films articulate a fascist vision of life: Leni's fascism is deeper than her direct celebration of Nazi politics; it resides already in her pre-political aesthetics of life, in her fascination with beautiful bodies displaying their disciplined movements. Perhaps it is time to problematize this topos. Let us take Leni's 1932 film *Das blaue Licht* ("The Blue Light"), the

Leni Riefenstahl with a member of the Nuba tribe of Sudan, 1975.



KEYSTONE/ZUMA PRESS

story of a village woman who is hated for her unusual prowess at climbing a deadly mountain. Is it not possible to read the film in exactly the opposite way as it usually is interpreted? Is Junta, the lone and wild mountain girl, not an outcast who almost becomes the victim of a pogrom—there is no other appropriate word—by the villagers? (Perhaps it is not an accident that Béla Balázs, Leni's lover at that time who co-wrote the scenario with her, was a Marxist.

The problem here is much more general; it goes far beyond Leni Riefenstahl. Let us take the very opposite of Leni, the composer Arnold Schönberg. In the second part of *Harmonielehre*, his major theoretical manifesto from 1911, he develops his opposition to tonal music in terms which, superficially, anticipate later Nazi anti-Semitic tracts. Tonal music has become a "diseased," "degenerated" world in need of a cleansing solution; the tonal system has given in to "inbreeding and incest"; romantic chords such as the diminished seventh are "hermaphroditic," "vagrant" and "cosmopolitan." It's easy and tempting to claim that such a messianic-apocalyptic attitude is part of the same "spiritual situation" that eventually gave birth to the Nazi final solution. This, however, is precisely the conclusion one should avoid: What makes Nazism repulsive is not the rhetoric of final solution *as such*, but the concrete twist it gives to it.

Another popular conclusion of this kind of analysis, closer to Leni, is the allegedly fascist character of the mass choreography of disciplined movements of thousands of bodies: parades, mass performances in stadia, etc. If one finds it also in communism, one immediately draws the conclusion about a "deeper solidarity" between the two "totalitarianisms." Such a formulation, the very prototype of ideological liberalism, misses the point. Not

only are such mass performances not inherently fascist; they are not even "neutral," waiting to be appropriated by left or right. It was Nazism that stole them and appropriated them from the workers' movement, their original site of birth. None of these "proto-fascist" elements is *per se* fascist. What makes them "fascist" is only their specific articulation—or, to put it in Stephen Jay Gould's terms, all these elements are "ex-apted" by fascism. There is no fascism *avant la lettre*, because it is the letter itself that composes the bundle (or, in Italian, *fascio*) of elements that is fascism proper.

Along the same lines, one should radically reject the notion that discipline, from self-control to bodily training, is inherently a proto-fascist feature. Indeed, the very term "proto-fascist" should be abandoned: It is a pseudo-concept whose function is to block conceptual analysis. When we say that the organized spectacle of thousands of bodies (or, say, the admiration of sports that demand high effort and self-control like mountain climbing) is "proto-fascist," we say strictly nothing,

we just express a vague association that masks our ignorance.

So when, three decades ago, kung fu films became popular, was it not obvious that we were dealing with a genuine working-class ideology of youngsters whose only means of success was the disciplinary training of their bodies, their only possession? Spontaneity and the "let it go" attitude of indulgence belong to those who have the means to afford it—those who have nothing have only their discipline. The "bad" bodily discipline, if there is one, is not the one of "collective training," but, rather, jogging and body-building as part of the New Age myth of the realization of the self's "inner potentials." (No wonder that the obsession with one's body is an almost obligatory part of the passage of ex-leftist radicals into the "maturity" of pragmatic politics: From Jane Fonda to Joschka Fischer, the "period of latency" between the two phases was marked by the focus on one's own body.)

So, back to Leni: What all this does not mean is that one should dismiss her Nazi engagement as a limited, unfortunate episode. The true problem is to sustain the tension that cuts through her work: the tension between the artistic perfection of her practice and the ideological project that "ex-apted" it. Why should her case be different from that of Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats, and other modernists with fascist tendencies who long ago became part of our artistic canon? Perhaps the search for the "true ideological identity" of Leni Riefenstahl is a misleading one. Perhaps there is no such identity: She was genuinely thrown around, inconsistent, caught in a cobweb of conflicting forces.

Is then the best way to mark her death not to take the risk of fully enjoying a film like *Das blaue Licht*, which contains the possibility of a political reading of her work totally different from the prevailing view? ■

Slavoj Žižek's latest book is *The Puppet and the Dwarf: The Perverse Core of Christianity*.

The Movies and 9/11

By Joshua Rothkopf

Since Spike Lee's *25th Hour*, I have been expressing a mixture of hope and doubt concerning the subject of 9/11 in movies. My hope was that more filmmakers would follow Lee's example and grapple with an event that could no

11'09"01—September 11

Directed by (in order of appearance) Samira Makhmalbaf, Claude Lelouch, Youssef Chahine, Danis Tanovic, Idrissa Ouedraogo, Ken Loach, Alejandro González Iñárritu, Amos Gitai, Mira Nair, Sean Penn, and Shohei Imamura

longer be pushed out of the backdrop of yet another New York crime thriller or witty romantic comedy; the city remains the site of so many of our dreams. My doubts had more to do with matters of taste and audacity: Could one reasonably expect these future films, assuming they ever got made, to have a fraction of the elegance and bite of *25th Hour*, a simple story about a hateful drug dealer's last day of freedom (as written by novelist David Benioff), but converted by Lee into a metaphoric indictment of failed vigilance, even complicity, in personal and global disaster?

Sometimes hopes and doubts come true in equal measure: *11'09"01—September 11* is an omnibus collection of 11 shorts by a most prestigious bunch—no blockbusters to their credit, but an unseemly number of Cannes prizes. Provocatively, there's only one American in the lineup (and a far-from-uncritical one, at that), setting high expectations for global perspectives that are at least an ocean's remove from Saddam-stompin' pageantry. (The film arrives via an independent distributor a full year after its wide release in several countries around the world; apparently, it's finally been declared safe for American eyes.) Each short is of equal length—11

minutes, nine seconds and a single frame—and if the imposition seems a little pat, it nonetheless results in more voices being heard.

But 11 voices sure can produce an unholy racket. Unified only by its depressing timidity and a surprising lack of relevance, *11'09"01* is a failure. As the segments unspool like little clockwork oranges, a terrible banality takes root, worse even than the boldest jingoism you could imagine. The project smells of wasted opportunities, of navel-gazing, of one-worldism and blathering. Claude Lelouch uses his time to essay a deaf-mute's lovesickness as the planes crash unobserved on her television set. Amos Gitai completes his assignment with a single, chaotic shot featuring a bratty Israeli journalist whose local scoop is bumped by



Off the air: Amos Gitai's contribution to *11'09"01*.

the larger events. And Sean Penn commits the double crime of building to a widower's tears of joy at the sight of his dead wife's flowers (which magically spring to life when the towers crumble, letting in the sunlight), as well as having the widower be played by Ernest Borgnine.

Such solipsism won't do, and while these examples may be reflective of a human impulse that many were feeling—namely, to retreat—they seem woefully insubstantial. (To be fair, most of the seg-

ments were rushed into production only months after the attacks.) Incoherence is to be expected, but the tame disengagement is off-putting, careering between Alejandro González Iñárritu's impressionistic soundscape of noisy shrieks punctuated by snuff shots of people jumping out of the towers, to Mira Nair's ho-hum gloss on a true-life missing person story, which sets up potent racist allegations only to debunk them in a triumphant press conference. (Ah, the movies.)

The bookends hold greater interest if not water. Samira Makhmalbaf, the youngest participating filmmaker at 23, paradoxically offers the most mature segment, with scrappy Afghan kids unable to grasp the enormity of their teacher's news. Shohei Imamura, the septuagenarian Japanese master, provides the most irreverent, ending with a hissing cobra spitting the words, "There is no such thing as a holy war." (His film is about a shell-shocked veteran who thinks he's a snake.) But you begin to long for tougher images of resiliency and defiance; the omission of a New York filmmaker is a shame. Reportedly, a segment proposed by aging NYC badboy Abel Ferrara was rejected, though one wonders how awful it could have been, given what made the cut.

Only Ken Loach, the British socialist, earns his keep with a diaristic entry that approaches the sad power of a Chris Marker cine-essay. As narrated by a Chilean exile, his film deals with another September 11, the one from 30 years ago—also a violent division between old and new worlds, also an act of foreign-sponsored aggression. For a moment, the picture coheres in Loach's scratchy montage, images of bruised solidarity from the uncertain days after Pinochet's U.S.-sponsored coup, days that ended up being decades, and you get a whiff of what a more courageous *11'09"01* might have been like. But until a worthier batch of artists rises to the occasion, one can only keep on doubting. keep on hoping. ■

When History Catches Up

By Eleanor J. Bader

It's a corollary to the Horatio Alger myth: Americans not only believe rags-to-riches ascendance is possible, they believe they can set aside their origins and remake themselves into

Dreams of Bread and Fire

By Nancy Kricorian
Grove Press
231 pages, \$24

whomever and whatever they desire. Nancy Kricorian's second novel, *Dreams of Bread and Fire*, examines this theme through the eyes of Ani Silver, a 22-year-old, upwardly-mobile student of literary theory, film criticism and semiotics.

In crafting a lyrical and complex coming-of-age story, Kricorian uses class status and ethnic identity—how children born into immigrant families determine their place within dual cultures—to lay a foundation on which she erects multiple plotlines. Not surprisingly, identity formation is central. Throughout Ani's childhood, her grandmother warned: "God inscribed your fate on your brow in vanishing ink while you were in your mother's womb. You cannot escape what is written on your forehead."

Heavy stuff to drop on an adolescent; we cannot help but empathize with Ani's desire to escape from her drab, largely working-class hometown in Massachusetts. Born to an Armenian-American mother and Jewish father, her world has been filled with Armenian ritual for 17 years, since she and her mother moved into her maternal grandparents' home following the death of her father, David. Devoid of contact with David's family—the Silvers acted as if their son had died when he married a Christian—Ani has no knowledge of Judaism. But that's O.K. Given her druthers, Ani would rather morph into a well-coifed, materially privileged WASP.

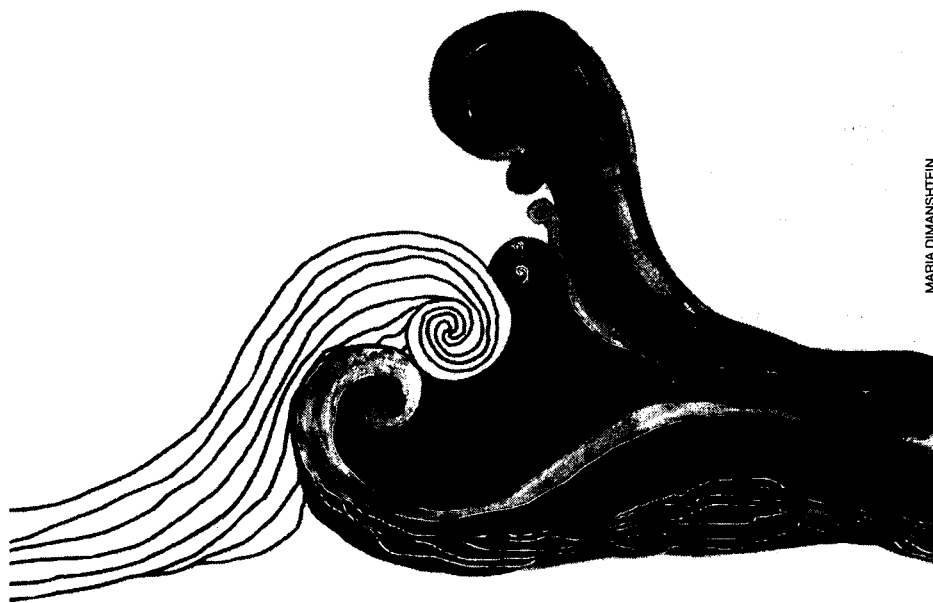
During college, her desires led her to carouse with monied peers. One beau won her heart. Despite his ongoing efforts to mold her into someone else, Ani failed to make the grade and was cast aside, devastated. Now in Paris for a year of graduate

study, she hopes to acquire mannerisms that will enhance her credibility as a scholar, literary wit and socialite. Unfortunately, her time in the City of Light is marred by a job taking care of the daughter of an American banker and his emotionally abused wife. While this complicates her assimilation plan, Ani needs the money it provides. On the flip side, the position gives her a spectacular address, added exposure to the well-heeled and pampered, and a chance to play the part of an intellectual sophisticate.

This persona is soon tested, however, when Ani runs into a childhood friend, Van Ardavanian. It's been years since the two have seen one another, and Van tells Ani that he lives in Paris and works with Armenian refugees. Catch-up leads to a relationship and before they know it, the pair are head-over-heels in something approximating love. Still, Ani is leery. Van is often silent, withholding, and is gone for long periods. Then, a chance peek into his backpack reveals something that Ani finds shocking—a passport with Van's picture, but another name. She learns that Van is part of a violent anti-Turkish underground.

Although Ani knows that her grandparents fled Armenia after the 1915 genocide, they never spoke about what happened to them, and Ani has never inquired. Suddenly eager to understand Van, Ani delves into history and learns about the slaughter and displacement of millions of Armenians—the first genocide of the 20th century. For Ani, the revelations are cataclysmic, causing her to question what it means to be part of a despised culture. Her Jewish roots also come into focus, and for the first time, Ani ponders the coalescence of forces that created her. The product of two reviled peoples, Ani begins to unravel her origins.

Kricorian does not tell us whether Ani fully accepts this, or whether she comes to endorse Van's armed struggle. The author has enough faith in her readers' intelligence to let them imagine how Ani will grapple with history's pull. What the novel does make clear is that the great tragedies of history have a way of catching up with all of us. Wise, poignant, and by turns sober and amusing, *Dreams of Bread and Fire* is an engaging, compassionate and important novel. ■



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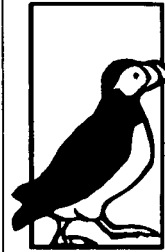
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Right: Minuteman II Missile in truck, with technician, South Dakota.

BELOW: Van Buren, IN (pop. 955) Town Council, 7/21/99.

continued from back cover

Press in *Face to Face with the Bomb: Nuclear Reality After the Cold War* (2003).

In *Meetings*, which he began in 1996, Shambroom continues his exploration of power in America. He used mapping software and a database of more than 15,000 meeting dates in more than 35 states to locate local government and community gatherings. An investigation of the grassroots level of democracy, Shambroom's photographs present seating arrangements, clothing, and body language that provide clues to local culture and political dynamics.



"My photographs emphasize the theatrical aspects of meetings," writes Shambroom, who used digital technology to add "painterly" details to these pedestrian scenes, softening, sharpening, and adding luminosity to highlight the historical import of everyday decision making.

"Side by side, these two series raise questions about the disjuncture between local action and federal process," writes Karen Irvine, associate curator. "Why is it that we take interest in our immediate community but when it comes to life-and-death questions of nuclear deterrents we are willing to defer to an unseen elite in Washington?"

Shambroom's photos will be on display from October 3 through December 5; visit www.mocp.org for more information. ■

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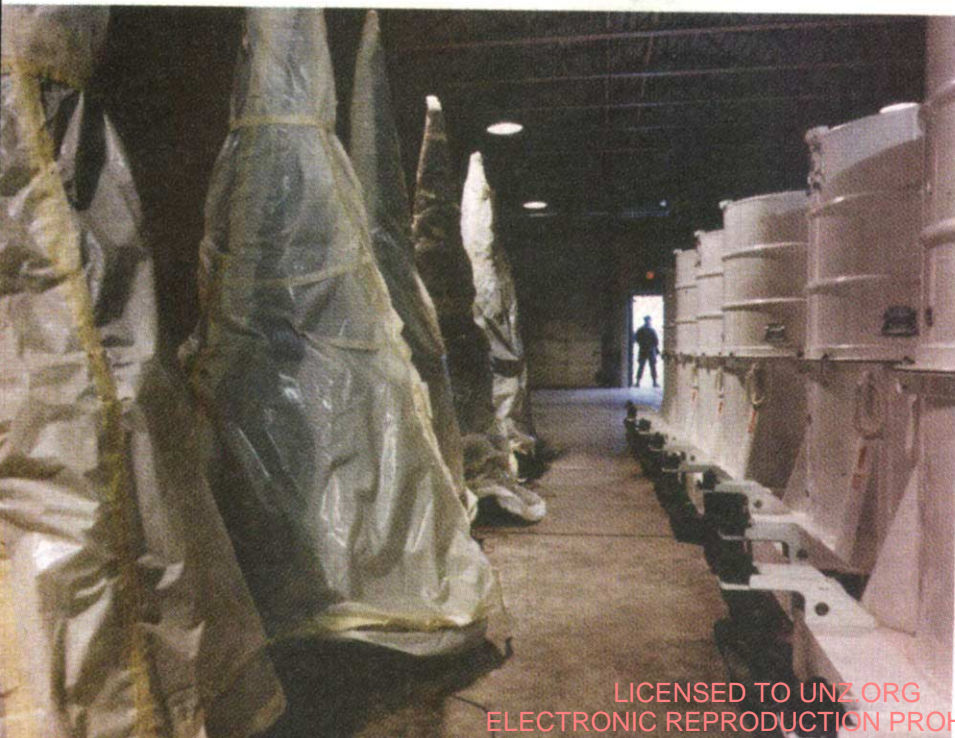
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Lewiston, MN (pop. 1,405) City Council, 3/10/95

Arsenals of Democracy

PHOTOGRAPHER PAUL SHAMBROOM documents seldom-glimpsed corners of American political power. This fall, two of his photographic series—*Meetings* and *Nuclear Weapons*—will be displayed in juxtaposition at Chicago's Museum of Contemporary Photography. The exhibit, titled *Paul Shambroom: Evidence of Democracy*, contrasts the face-to-face workings of small-town democracy with the daunting and impersonal power of U.S. nuclear weapons. The two projects showcase Shambroom's fascination with technology and his drive to depict subjects often kept behind closed doors.



Nuclear Weapons offers the first comprehensive look inside the U.S. nuclear arsenal by a civilian. Beginning just after the Soviet Union collapsed, Shambroom spent years photographing various products of the Cold War, including "Peacekeeper" missiles, B-2 bombers, and Trident submarines. Shambroom was able to visit 25 weapons and command sites in 20 states before 9/11 security precautions cut off his access to the facilities. He explains that he meant the project to "present areas that have existed as powerful concepts in our collective consciousness." The photographs were recently published by Johns Hopkins University

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ABOVE: One-megaton nuclear bombs in Weapons Storage Area, Barksdale Air Force Base.

LEFT: W87-MK21 warheads, storage.